

"THE LAW OF CHRIST": A STUDY OF
PAUL'S USE OF THE EXPRESSION IN
GALATIANS 6:2

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine the use of the expression "the Law of Christ" within the context of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. This objective is thus both inclusive and exclusive. Included in this study will be detailed examination of the background of the Epistle to the Galatians. Excluded from it will be detailed examination of other of the Pauline epistles. Only those passages which are most directly parallel will be considered, and then not necessarily exhaustively.

In other words, this is a study of the Epistle to the Galatians and not a study of the Pauline corpus generally or even of any other epistle specifically. The assumption resting behind this is that it is necessary to examine and to discuss each individual epistle in the light of its historical background before it becomes possible to discuss the Pauline epistles collectively. Some of the reasoning involved in this assumption, especially as it relates to Galatians, will be discussed in the Introduction below. Let it suffice here to say that were this study to move into other epistles and attempt to discuss them in detail it is here understood that this would amount to a negating of the basic assumption which is both motivating and controlling this study.

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INTRODUCTION

What was the "problem" of the Epistle to the Galatians? Why is this epistle, or at least an aspect of it, the subject of an investigation such as this? There are, of course, many problems or questions within this epistle which are or could be the subject of inquiry. The one which comprises the subject of this investigation is the question of "the Law of Christ".

But why is this topic of sufficient importance to become the subject of investigation? As one can readily tell from the attention which this topic has already received (see the history of research below) in countless books and articles on Pauline theology, New Testament theology or history, the history of Christian thought, ethics and ethical subjects, the expression "the Law of Christ" is a frequently discussed topic. However, as will be seen below, precisely because certain assumptions about this expression have grown up and been handed on with little or no new or fresh or critical reflection coming to bear on it, perhaps a new examination is in order. On the other hand, as will also be pointed out below, there is reason to believe that a new stage of understanding has been reached in regard to the history of early Christianity and the role of that history in the formulation of the proclamation and theology of that time. This also seems to call for a new examination of various assumptions and understandings, including those revolving around the Epistle to the Galatians and specifically the expression "the Law of Christ".

As a matter of fact, this epistle and this expression seem, at least at first glance, to offer an outstanding opportunity or model for applying some of the recently-arrived-at understandings of the interaction of historical events and the formulation of theology and proclamation in the early Christian church.

Why? First of all, in this epistle there is to be found an encouragingly large amount of information relating to its historical background. The shape of the polemic of the epistle seems to be reasonably clear, even if frequently misunderstood and inadequately defined by scholars.

Secondly, the presence of this expression "the Law of Christ" within the context of the very epistle where the "law" is the eye of the storm becomes compellingly attractive for investigation. What did Paul mean when he used this expression? What did he mean when he used it in this epistle? Why was it precisely this epistle, and nowhere else, in which he used it? Why is it found in the context of the epistle which evaluates the "law" most negatively of all of the Pauline epistles? Why does Paul evaluate the "law" more negatively in the Epistle to the Galatians than elsewhere, e.g. the Epistle to the Romans?

The answers to these questions which will be suggested involve (just as the very formulation of the questions themselves spring from) a probing of the broader context of the epistle, the historical background and circumstances which colored Paul's remarks and perhaps even elicited the epistle itself.

In other words, not only does a possible solution of "the

problem" of this investigation--Paul's use of the expression "the Law of Christ" in the Epistle to the Galatians--seem to presuppose and lead to a thorough investigation of the background of the epistle, but the basic intention of the study itself is to engage in an investigation of that historical background with an eye to discovering a possible relationship between it and the somewhat surprising appearance of the expression "the Law of Christ" in this epistle. In other words, this study is an investigation of the suspicion that a more adequate solution of the question of "the Law of Christ" than has previously been found lies in a more thorough examination of the background of the Epistle to the Galatians than has previously been accomplished.

The study will first of all focus attention on how this epistle and the expression "the Law of Christ" (or more generally, "Law") have been understood by scholars over the past 100 years. From there that focus of attention will be narrowed to more recent scholarship, especially those scholars whose work has led them to investigate relationships between theological statements or proclamation and the backgrounds against which they were formulated. On the basis of this, specific suggestions will be made toward a reconstruction of the background of this epistle as well as toward a clarification of what Paul has in fact said and why he has said it. Of course, special account will be taken of the expression "the Law of Christ". The primary tool in working toward that end will be exegetical investigations of several passages.

CHAPTER I

A HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON "THE LAW OF CHRST"

This study of the "history of the research" on the topic "the Law of Christ" in Paul is not in any way intended to be a comprehensive report on the history of Pauline research as such, like those of Albert Schweitzer¹ and Rudolf Bultmann². Rather, it is intended to be an analysis of the work of some of the foremost scholars from Ferdinand Christian Baur to Bultmann as they viewed and understood the problem posed by the expression "the Law of Christ" and the questions attendant upon it. It goes without saying that this will also elicit some attention being paid to the more general question of Paul's understanding of "Law".

The methodology is a most important factor and often becomes an indicator of the results one can expect. In the period from F. C. Baur to the early part of the Twentieth Century the prevailing methodology, as Schweitzer has pointed out,³ was that of viewing the law as if it were one of a number of loci within a dogmatic "system". By contrast, since the methodology to be employed in this study is a strictly historical one, the work of the scholars

¹Schweitzer, Paul and his Interpreters (New York: Schocken, 1964).

²Bultmann, "Zur Geschichte der Paulus-Forschung," Theologische Rundschau N.F. 1 (1929), 26-59.

³Schweitzer, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

under discussion here will be weighed against this standard. That is to say, particular emphasis in our analysis of these scholars will have to be laid on whether or not and to what extent they have succeeded in relating the expression "the Law of Christ" or the various statements about the "Law" to the historical circumstances behind the Pauline epistles, especially the highly polemical one of the Epistle to the Galatians.

As can be seen from our perspective, the work of F. C. Baur bore immense influence over New Testament scholarship for many years. The generations after him, while they did contribute some important insights and advances, for the most part found themselves immobilized in the after-effects of Baur's monumental work. The chief shortcoming of these scholars is aptly laid out by Schweitzer: "They assume that the Pauline system has arisen out of a series of reflections and conclusions. . . ." ⁴ Not only were they attempting to force Paul's thoughts into the categories or loci of their own dogmatic systems, but the very fact that they conceived of Paul's theology as a "system" at all, as the product of a "series of reflections and conclusions," is itself questionable. Schweitzer adds that these authors do not raise questions about the various aspects of Paul's thought which do not fit neatly into a "system." ⁵

As we shall see, from the time of W. Wrede and more importantly J. Weiss onward the questions which Schweitzer laments for their

⁴Ibid., p. 38. Of course, not all of Schweitzer's own conclusions can be accepted either.

⁵Ibid. p. 37. Schweitzer calls this a "self-deception."

absence came to be asked, at least in a preliminary way. The approach today, of course, is to accent or highlight rather than to play down or ignore the inconsistencies or variations in formulation within Paul's theology in order to cast light on specific historical circumstances and thereby also, hopefully, to clarify these statements themselves, as well as to cast light on the whole of Pauline theology.

There are, however, dangers inherent in this methodology. Not only are we forced usually to infer what the arguments were which Paul was answering. But we are also forced to interpret Paul's theology in a more or less circular fashion on the basis of this. Furthermore, just as the older scholars faced the immanent danger of overlooking or doing away with those inconsistencies for the sake of a "system," so today there is a very real temptation to neglect or overlook or underestimate inner consistencies in search of those discrepancies which are thought to be the key-hole through which we can catch a glimpse of--or perhaps even reconstruct--those elusive historical circumstances which served as the backdrop for Paul's theological statements.

The concerns of the present day to a certain extent find rather hospitable surroundings in the work of F. C. Baur. Baur's concern was to examine what he saw to be the great struggle of early Christianity. Thus in his estimation the theology of the early church was polemically formulated. New Testament scholarship today is also concerned with examining what is now understood to be the struggle of early Christianity. However, this struggle is

no longer understood to be that between two great factions permeating all of the early church. Rather it is looked upon as a multitude of individual struggles which were taking place between a multiplicity of theological positions which had no necessary geographical, ideological or theological connexions aside from the fact that all were inhabitants of the syncretism of the Hellenistic culture. Nevertheless, because of this similarity of interest, the work of F. C. Baur--and those who followed up his work--has again assumed a role of great interest and importance for New Testament scholarship.

This fact alone, however, ought to enable current scholarship to avoid at least one of the serious pitfalls to which Baur and his followers fell victim--and which has been mentioned as a temptation for the current methodology, namely, the underestimation of the amount of material which was shared by some or many of those various theological positions. In spite of the fact that there apparently were many diversities, we can see from a critical appraisal of Baur's work that there was also an amazingly large amount of common theological ground between them.⁶

⁶For a summary of the 19th Century debate about the assumed conflict between "Paulinism" and "Jewish-Christianity" which, it was concluded, resulted in the rise of the Catholic Church, cf. H. J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Freiburg: Mohr, 1892), pp. 179-188. On the question of Paul and "early Catholicism" cf. most recently E. Käsemann, "Paul and Early Catholicism," Journal for Theology and the Church, III, (1967), 14-27.

PART 1: FERDINAND CHRISTIAN BAUR

In his historic attempt to reconstruct the history of earliest Christianity F. C. Baur postulated the existence of two--and only two--great parties or movements in the early Christian church. On the one hand, there was the Primitive Jewish-Christian party in Jerusalem. On the other hand, there was the Hellenistic group or party, of which Paul became the chief representative. His description of the antithesis⁷ between these two factions forms the center of his interpretation of the New Testament.

As the church grew and acquired a constituency which was oriented not so much toward Judaism, but more toward its own background in non-Jewish circles, an antagonism arose between these so called "Hebraistic" and "Hellenistic" factions. Baur traces this antagonism all the way back to Jerusalem, since both of these groups apparently were represented there.⁸ As the church expanded and reached beyond the limits of Palestine this antagonism grew more profound. Baur sees in the travels of Peter and John to Samaria and of Peter to Judea, Samaria and Galilee (as reflected in Acts) attempts by the Jerusalem leadership to establish or retain control

⁷Many trace this aspect of Baur's thought back to Hegel, e.g., W.G. Kümmel, Das Neue Testament. (München: Alber, 1970), pp. 161-163. Others see a heavier influence of Semler upon Baur. Cf. D. Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 8f.

⁸F. C. Baur, Paul the apostle of Jesus Christ. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873), I, 41.

over these churches which apparently were slipping from their influence.⁹

Into this setting came the apostle Paul. Thus for Baur, Paul assumes a pivotal role, arriving on the scene of this controversy as the foremost proponent of the very policy which was feeding the flames of this antagonism. The attacks upon the person and apostolic "rank" of Paul are seen by Baur as the work of these enemies: "We see from the epistles of the apostle how his enemies always reproached him with not having been, as the other apostles, a disciple of Jesus, and for not having been called to be an apostle by Jesus himself during his earthly life."¹⁰ In Baur's reconstruction this allegation that Paul's credentials as an apostle were inauthentic goes together with the other allegation that he was in fact dependent upon the Jerusalem apostles and thus was inferior to them.¹¹ It is in refutation of these two accusations that Paul devotes himself so studiously on the one hand to his genuine call and commission from the Lord (1 Cor. 9:1, 15:8, 2 Cor. 11:1), and on the other hand to his independence from the Jerusalem apostles (Gal. 1:11-12). Baur sums up the importance of these facts by saying that "the whole significance of his apostolic labours depended on the fact that he was a specially called apostle, and independent of all the other apostles."¹²

⁹Ibid., I, 40.

¹⁰Ibid., I, 80.

¹¹Ibid., I, 112-113.

¹²Ibid., I, 114.

One of the more important aspects of Baur's understanding of this conflict, however, is his assertion that this was not an agitation between individuals. It is two distinct and basically antagonistic understandings of the nature of Christianity. As evidence of this Baur points to the agreement in principle which the leaders, Paul on the one hand and Peter and the Jerusalem apostles on the other, were able to reach about the separate but nevertheless legitimate existence of the mission to the Gentiles on a basis free from the demand for circumcision. Pointing to the obvious success which his mission to the Gentiles had already had as evidence that he, too, possessed the grace of God in his work, Paul was able to secure from the Jerusalem apostles for himself and his associate Barnabas "...the right-hand of fellowship," and the recognition that they were "accredited companions in the work of the Gospel." Finally, the Jerusalem apostles also "promised. . .to put no hindrance in their way, even if they continued as hitherto to spread the Gospel to the Gentiles, without imposing the law on them."¹³ But Baur's interpretation of the outcome of this pact is one of the lesser known and yet more important features of his total reconstruction of the history of early Christianity. He reasons that "...we cannot believe that a full reconciliation took place at this time between these widely sundered views and principles. . . .The apostolic sphere of operations therefore became divided into two parts. . ."¹⁴

¹³Ibid., I, 130.

¹⁴Ibid.

So far Baur's description strikes a responsive chord in our expectations.

But then comes the unexpected. Baur does not deem Peter and the other Jerusalem apostles to be the organizers and instigators of the anti-Pauline Judaizers whom Baur sees as dogging the footsteps of Paul. Rather, Baur sees developing within Jewish Christianity itself two distinct "parties" or branches. The stricter party were the "declared opponents" of Paul whose intention was literally to wipe Paul's liberal Gospel of freedom from the law out of existence. "They saw perfectly well that if the necessity of the law was not recognized in the case of the Gentile Christians, its absolute importance to Judaism was at an end."¹⁵ Thus they followed a program of subversive activity in Paul's congregations so that as Paul "accomplished their conversion to the Gospel they might follow with the condition without which it never should have taken place, and without which it would be a perfectly fruitless work, namely the imposition of the law."¹⁶ The more liberal party, although in principle it was in harmony with the stricter one, also honored its agreement with Paul and thus dissociated itself from the policies of the stricter party.¹⁷ Peter and the other apostles belonged to this group.

In addition, then, Baur maintains that there was an intimate connexion between these developments and the historical situation behind the epistle of Paul to the Galatians. "The Galatian

¹⁵Ibid., I, 133.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

Christians were very near falling away from the Gospel as it had been preached to them by the apostle, i.6; iii.1, 3; iv.9, etc., 21; v.2, etc., 7. This was the result of strange teachers. . . . Here we first meet with those Judaizing opponents with whom the Apostle had to maintain so severe a struggle in the churches which he founded. . . ."¹⁸ These opponents, of course, are none other than that "strict party" of Jerusalem Jewish Christians and their associates. "These considerations," Baur adds, "tend to establish the point of view from which this Epistle of the apostle is as a whole to be considered. It places us in the midst of the great excitement of the critical struggle which had begun between Judaism and Christianity, in the decision of the momentous question whether there should be a Christianity free from Judaism and essentially different from it, or whether Christianity should only exist as a form of Judaism, that is to say, as nothing else than a modified and extended Judaism. . . ."¹⁹ Thus theoretically at least Baur is committed to a methodology which seeks to interpret and understand

¹⁸Ibid., I, 261.

¹⁹Ibid., I, 263. It is also very interesting to note Baur's understanding of these opponents of Paul in the light of the current discussion of orthodoxy and heresy in early Christianity. ". . .but this opposition does not justify us in seeing in them nothing but heretics, impostors, and corruptors,--nothing but persons who from bad motives made it their business to interfere with the beneficent work of the Apostle, hindering and disturbing it. Of course, the Apostle Paul himself thus represents them, but we must not forget that party is here opposed to party, and each side takes up the affair in question and judges of it from its own particular standpoint. . . ." Ibid., I, 262.

this epistle "as a whole" from the perspective of its historical background. The crucial question now is whether he has succeeded in a thorough-going way in doing so and furthermore, whether he has perceived any connexion between this historical background and the expression "the law of Christ."²⁰

From this it follows that we will have to determine how Baur did interpret this expression "the law of Christ." In order to do that properly we will also have to take a brief overview of his understanding of Paul's doctrine of the law as well as that of justification.

At the very center of Baur's understanding of Pauline theology, including his consideration of the law, is the πνεῦμα . By nature man is not "spirit" but only "flesh, not only on one side of his nature; regarded according to his natural constitution he is flesh altogether. . . . The flesh is therefore not merely the body with its bodily impulses, it is the sensuous principle which dominates

²⁰It is true that Baur has followed his methodology in the obviously polemical passages, especially Gal. 1 and 2. For a consideration of whether or not he has in fact succeeded insofar as the "epistle as a whole" is concerned, see below. However, it is relevant here to take into account the general three-part structure into which Baur divides the epistle. ". . . the epistle. . . may be divided into three chief parts, one personal and apologetic, one dogmatic, and one practical. All three are intimately connected with each other. The dogmatic part of the epistle consists partly of the evidence of the apostolic authority of the apostle, and partly it passes over to the practical side, inasmuch as the νόμος is one of the chief ideas of the dogmatic part. It was necessary to show that freedom from the law does not by any means necessitate the abolition of moral obligation." Ibid., I, 266.

the whole man in soul and body."²¹ Man becomes πνευματικός only "when, through faith in the grace of God in Christ, he has received the spirit into himself."²² This "natural" condition of man, then, is the locus of sin. "Out of this," says Baur--and by "this" he obviously means "the flesh"--"arises sin in all the various aspects it assumes in human life. . . ."²³ Thus in a real sense ἀμαρτία reigns in man's σάρξ . That is to say, man in his condition prior to receiving the πνεῦμα θεοῦ is dominated by the principle or "law" of sin.²⁴ In this condition man is unable, as Baur says, to assume an "adequate relation"²⁵ towards God. The remedy for this, according to Baur, is the "righteousness of God." Now this δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ²⁶ can assume either of two forms, δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἔργων νόμου or δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως . The former of these is "the Jewish form of the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ and is mediated by the law of Moses."²⁷

²¹Ibid., II, 140. This "sensual principle" Baur identifies with the "law in the members" (νόμος ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν , Rom. 7:23) and is also called a "law of sin" (νόμος ἀμαρτίας). Cf. II, 144.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., II, 140; Baur also sees the νόμος ἀμαρτίας "coming out through the σάρξ ." (Cf. II, 161).

²⁴It is not necessary for our purposes to go into Baur's treatment of Paul's use of the terms "νόμος" and "νόμος τοῦ νόου" as well as the related expression "ὁ ἕως ἄνθρωπος ." (Cf. II, 144-145.)

²⁵Ibid., II, 136.

²⁶Ibid., II, 135f. Baur has a very stimulating and relevant discussion of the kind of genitive used here (θεοῦ), whether subjective or objective.

²⁷Ibid., II, 136.

How, then, does Baur interpret Paul's understanding of the law? What is its nature and what are its purposes? And as we consider the law within the total picture of Baur's interpretation of Paul's doctrine of justification, it is also necessary to consider what the law is able to do and what it is specifically unable to do.

It is most significant that as Baur moves his discussion of the negative aspects of justification around to the nature of the law, the very first characteristic of the law which he points out is that it is πνευματικός.²⁸ However, when this "spiritual" law confronts man something unfortunate happens: "If man's nature were as spiritual as the law is spiritual, both would agree together, so that any contradiction between them would be out of the question. . . . But this harmony cannot take place, since man is not only spiritual, but carnal."²⁹ Not only does this harmony not take place, but since the σάρξ is actually the seat of sin in man, as we have seen, the law comes upon man, not as the justifying agent (οὐ δικαιοῦσθαι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου) but in fact as the condemning agent, condemning this σάρξ-ἁμαρτία alliance.³⁰ Furthermore, since where sin is there death is also, this condemnation is thus the "verdict of death upon sin."³¹ Baur then goes on to conclude: "Regarded in this light, the law is simply the γράμμα which kills, and its office is the διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως, τοῦ θανάτου, 2 Cor. iii.6 sq."³² Thus,

²⁸Ibid., II, 138f.

²⁹Ibid., II, 139.

³⁰Ibid., II, 141.

³¹Ibid., II, 139.

³²Ibid.

although the law in itself is "spiritual" i.e., holy, its power to effect justification (which Baur understands as being identical with "making alive"--ζωοποιῆσαι) is crippled in confrontation with the flesh-sin and consequently is unable to justify (γύδαινοῦσθαι) or to make alive (οὐ ζωοποιῆσαι). "What renders the δικαιοσύνη διὰ νόμου impossible," says Baur, "is that the law, though in itself spiritual, could not take up its place in man as spiritual, and thus become a unity with him."³³

This, however, is not the full extent of the impact of the law upon man. The law also in a certain very real sense plays a positive role in the flesh-sin conspiracy which leads eventually to death. Baur states the case this way:

the peculiarity of the apostle's doctrine here is, that not only does the law pass the condemning verdict on the sin actually existing in contradiction to itself, but that it also brings sin to its full reality in man. The reason of the οὐ δικαιοῦσθαι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου is thus in the law itself after all. The negative part of the apostle's doctrine of justification comes to a point in the proposition which sounds so paradoxical: ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος 1 Cor. xv. 56. What gives sin its power, its significance, and its reality--what makes it become what it is, what makes it sin is the law. How can this be?

The answer to the question lies in the undeniable truth, that sin is what it is essentially and simply through man's consciousness of it; where there is no consciousness of sin, there is no sin.³⁴

³³Ibid., II, 160.

³⁴Ibid., II, 141. There is a parallel and concise discussion of this in F.C. Baur's Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie (Leipzig: Fues, 1864), pp. 149-151: "There is no δικαιοσύνη ἐξ ἔργων νόμου because there is in the broader sense no ἔργα νόμου but where ἔργα νόμου should be there are only ἔργα σαρκός Thus how is the νόμος related to the σάρξ? Isn't it the νόμος which influences the σάρξ so decisively that through it the ἔργα σαρκός become ἔργα νόμου? If such a law had been given

This is actually what Baur understands by the "schoolmastership" of the law. In addressing himself to the issue of the purpose of the law, Baur says, "The answer which he gives to this question is that the law was interposed between the promise and the time when faith should come, because of transgression, not to prevent them, but that in them sin might attain to its full manifestation and reality."³⁵

According to Baur's interpretation, then, of Pauline theology, the law is replaced by the death of Jesus. He explains that "there must, therefore, be something in the death of Jesus which qualifies faith to effect what the law with its works could not. This relation of the death of Jesus to the law is most explicitly stated by the apostle in the passage, Gal. iii. 13. . . There is thus a curse in the death of Christ. . . . It is the curse of the law."³⁶ But this death of Christ is somehow also identical with the spirit (of God) or at any rate functions with it.³⁷ The Spirit in turn can also be

in the Mosaic law that is able to make alive or holy, then righteousness really would have come from the law. Herein lies the ambiguity, that in the abstract it is possible by the way of the law to be justified through works of the law, but that in reality this is by no means the case. . . . The law's inability to work what in itself it would be able to do, has its basis in the fact that the flesh makes it impotent. Yet the law is not so ineffective in its relation to the νόμος Thus sin is dead or dormant in the consciousness as long as nothing is commanded or forbidden, because without the consciousness that man is doing something forbidden no transgression is possible."

³⁵Baur, The Church History of the first three Centuries (London: Williams and Norgate, 1879), I, 58.

³⁶Baur, Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, II, 149-150.

³⁷Ibid., II, 127: the "spirit of Christian consciousness. . . . is at the same time so identical with the objective spirit of God. . . ." Furthermore, while the law could not take up its proper

described as the νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ or the principle of Christian consciousness "which determines the whole direction of the man. . . ." ³⁸ Baur's understanding of this sequence can be summarized as follows: πίστις introduces πνεῦμα into man. πίστις is the form of which πνεῦμα is the content. This makes a man δίκαιος (πίστις λογίζεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην not in a purely theoretical or imaginary sense, but really, "because in the νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος . . . he is truly and actually placed in the relation to God which is adequate to the idea of God." ³⁹

This brings Baur to what is for our purposes the most important aspect of his understanding of Paul. The man who possesses the spirit, or to put it more precisely in Baur's own terminology, the man whose whole direction is determined by the spirit, the principle of Christian consciousness, actually fulfills and realizes the moral contents of the law. This he describes with the Pauline idea of "walking according to the spirit." ⁴⁰ He qualifies this by saying

place in man, the spirit can. It is for this reason that the spirit, the πνεῦμα ἡμῶν (which is at the same time the πνεῦμα θεοῦ) is or at any rate functions with the death of Christ, which for Paul has replaced the Law. (Cf. II, 160.)

³⁸Ibid., II, 160. On the other hand, Baur is also careful and explicit in distinguishing this term, "the law of the spirit. . ." from two other terms: "The νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος, as the apostle here designates the principle of Christian consciousness, distinguishing it both from the νόμος θεοῦ which serves only with the practically impotent νοῦς, and from the νόμος ἀμαρτίας, which comes out through the σάρξ, is the highest expression for the Pauline conception of justification. . . ." II, 161.

³⁹Ibid., II, 161.

⁴⁰Ibid., II, 162.

that "this walking according to the spirit is not indeed that ἐμμένειν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὰ Gal. iii. 10; for that remains even in this case a demand which can never be satisfied; but in place of this merely quantitative fulfilment of the law, there has come the qualitative fulfilment; the spirit is the principle of the fulfilment of the law or of moral conduct, and the spirit, the totality of disposition, contains in itself also the totality of the law, the δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου ."⁴¹ Thus Baur sees what he calls two "momenta" of the Christian existence: being dead with Christ and alive with and for Christ.⁴² The first involves, among other things, a being loosed from "the bond which binds a man to the law." The second involves a condition parallel to this and taking the place of the former: a new bond, "the bond of union with Christ."⁴³ Faith is, of course, the means by which a man is united with Christ. But in his interpretation of Pauline theology Baur has one final link to add, namely, love. "What gives faith the power to unite the believer with Christ, or that in Christ which attracts faith, and unites us to him in faith, is the love through which he died for us and in our stead. . ."⁴⁴ The love of God has prompted the love of Christ since it moved him to die for us. This love of Christ, in turn, creates love in the man who is united to Christ by faith. Thus "faith passes

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., II, 166.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

over into love."⁴⁵ This observation leads Baur into a discussion of what he understands by the expression "the law of Christ":

Love in its connexion with faith is thus an important feature of the Pauline doctrine, for in it the law which was done away in the death of Christ is taken up again, only with a higher meaning. Love is indeed the whole sum of the law; in it the law becomes the law of Christ himself, Gal. v. 14, vi. 2 (cf. *ἐννομος* Χριστοῦ, 1 Cor. ix. 21). Though the law is abolished through the death of Christ, it is not abolished altogether; only that in it is taken away which was merely external, which was merely positive. Set free from its outward form, the legal becomes the moral,--the law is received back into the self-consciousness of the spirit, the law of Christ is the moral consciousness in its essential oneness with the Christian consciousness. Thus what on the one side is freedom, is on the other side subordination. . . .⁴⁶

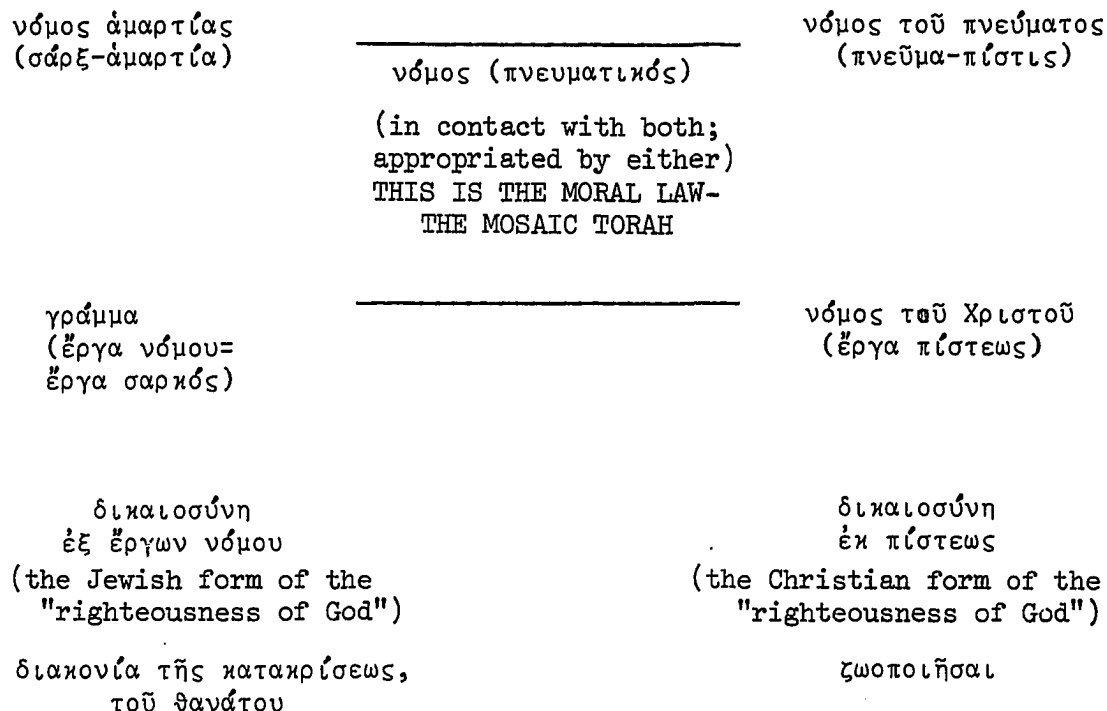
In other words, as he deals with the expression "the law of Christ", Baur takes the term "law" at its face value. It is not a "principle" (although, as we have seen, he does allow this to be one of the possible meanings of the Greek term *νόμος* and he does in fact interpret the term *νόμος* as "principle" elsewhere, Rom. 7:23, 8:2) but a law in the real sense of the word.⁴⁷ The reason and basis

⁴⁵Ibid., II, 167.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷It is both interesting and important to take note of the fact that Baur sees Paul making no distinction between the "moral law" and the Mosaic law. He reasons as follows: "The moral law generally and the Mosaic law were not distinguished from each other in the apostle's view, since the Mosaic law in which God had declared his moral requirements was the most perfect expression of the moral law with which he was acquainted. Yet the heathen were not simply *ἄνομοι* to him. What the law aims at in general is the *ἐργάζεσθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν*, Rom. ii. 10. The law is first of all to bring home to man's consciousness the good which he is to realize practically. . . . There is thus, as a standard of moral conduct, a natural law independent of all positive revelation manifesting itself in conscience, to the truth of which the conscience bears witness." Ibid., II, 137-138.

for this can perhaps best be presented by means of a diagram:



How, then, is all of this related to the historical background of the epistle to the Galatians within the broader scope of Baur's Pauline research? It is certainly true that Baur has set forth a cogent picture of Pauline theology. Especially attractive is his interpretation of the law. However, Baur's proclivity for seeing the same opponents⁴⁸ behind each and every controversy carried on

⁴⁸It is very remarkable to observe how Baur attempts to deal with the difference in the argumentation from one epistle to the next. He certainly does not close his eyes to the fact that such differences do in fact exist. He says, for example, "there can scarcely be any doubt with regard to these Judaizing opponents, that from the way in which the Apostle opposed them, the conflict was now for the first time being carried on. We see that this is the first time this subject has been handled; the Apostle perceives that he is absolutely obliged to give an account of how he was summoned to his apostolic office, and he speaks of it in such a manner as he could not have done, if he had ever before come in contact with these opponents

by Paul has forced a great number of his otherwise penetrating insights into a procrustean bed. This, in turn, has prevented him from carrying through to a satisfying conclusion some of the most valuable of the insights of his work, specifically that of viewing the epistle to the Galatians as a whole from the perspective of the debate between Paul and his Judaizing opponents. Baur has indeed seen that Paul has emphasized certain things in some epistles which are totally or largely omitted from others. But because he believes the same Judaizing opponents to be the antagonists behind each and every epistle, these differences in Paul's argumentation become nothing more than Paul trying a new approach in his defence or apologetic. Thus, although Baur proposes to view Galatians as a whole from the perspective of Paul's debate with his opponents, he is in fact prevented from doing this because of the distinctive features of Paul's argumentation in Galatians. In other words, some points, which presumably are indeed prompted by the historical situation of this epistle and which are not mentioned or developed in other epistles because they are not part of the debate in those other situations, are passed over unnoticed by Baur

in the same way. . . This same idea of a perfectly new party contest, in which an individual aim is set forth is shown also in the opposition of the opponents. Circumcision is treated of as the most necessary recognition of the value of the Mosaic law. It is certainly remarkable that in the Epistles to the Corinthians there is no longer any mention of this subject. Although indisputably the same Judaizing opponents are in question, the party feeling which in the Epistle to the Galatians we see in its most direct, and so to speak in its rudiest form, is in these Epistles modified, and the contest is removed to another arena. . . ." Ibid., I, 266-267.

or at any rate he attaches no real significance to them.

All of this is simply another way of saying that for Baur there are in fact no genuinely distinctive features of this epistle--or, for that matter, of any of the other epistles of Paul--because the historical background of the epistles is the same in each and every instance.

PART 2: CARL VON WEIZSÄCKER

The work of F. C. Baur was carried on by his pupil and successor at Tübingen, Carl von Weizsäcker, in respect to several important points. However, not all of the work of Weizsäcker can be said to be an advance beyond Baur. It is true, as W. G. Kümmel has observed,⁴⁹ that in his magnum opus⁵⁰ Weizsäcker has attempted to continue Baur's determination to interpret the New Testament documents against the background of their historical settings. This is apparent throughout his work. But it is questionable whether his work is genuine progress beyond Baur⁵¹ at a very crucial point. On the one hand, as we have already noted, Baur himself acknowledges that Peter and the other apostles were not behind the attacks upon Paul and his mission

⁴⁹Kümmel, op. cit., p. 208.

⁵⁰C. von Weizsäcker, Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche (1886). For a discussion of how Weizsäcker modified his position with regard to earliest Christianity between the time of the publication of his Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte (1864) and that of his The Apostolic Age, cf. Kümmel, op. cit., p. 208.

⁵¹Kümmel, op. cit., p. 208 claims this to be the case.

work. The other segment of the Jerusalem church, the "extremist" wing of Judaisers, were responsible for them. This fact alone, according to Weizsäcker, must have prompted some disagreement between the Jerusalem apostles and the extreme Judaisers. Weizsäcker's description of the handshake between Paul and Peter has a familiar Baur-like ring:

The interview of Paul with the Apostles led to a formal treaty between James, Cephas, and John on the one side, and Paul and Barnabas on the other. The former then gave the latter the right hand of fellowship, and arranged that they should go to the Gentiles, while they themselves were to be the Apostles to the circumcised. Only, Paul and his companion were to remember the poor, i.e. the poor of Jerusalem. It was the success of Paul's labours that induced the primitive Apostles to frame this agreement. That they recognized as evidence of a Divine commission, and of a grace granted him for his work.⁵²

On the other hand, where Baur was very cautious about the significance of the agreement between Paul and Peter, Weizsäcker offers a rather bold analysis. Peter's real position was one of agreement with Paul: "his conviction of the necessity of the law had already been secretly shaken."⁵³ His change of heart upon being reproached by the emissaries from James merely points to the fact that his conviction had not yet "fully matured."⁵⁴ In spite of this, however, the picture of the historical situation in the primitive Christian church coming from the pen of Weizsäcker is, on the whole, only slightly different from that of his teacher, Ferdinand Christian Baur.

⁵²Weizsäcker, op. cit., p. 186.

⁵³Ibid., p. 195.

⁵⁴Ibid.

Perhaps it would be well if the same could be said of Weizsäcker's treatment of Pauline theology, specifically of Paul's understanding of the law as well as Weizsäcker's analysis of the situation in Galatia and its bearing upon Paul's theological statements.

Like Baur, Weizsäcker detects an intimate connexion between the historical situation and Paul's doctrinal formulations in the epistle to the Galatians. "The letter is directed to an indefinite number of churches. . . . and yet the doctrine is not of a general nature, of itself suited equally to all circumstances; on the contrary, it is connected throughout with actual events. . . ." ⁵⁵ Furthermore, in discussing Paul's treatment of the law, Weizsäcker recognizes certain "inconsistencies" from one epistle (Romans) to the next (Galatians). But instead of taking the final step and proceeding to his historical interpretation he merely attempts to explain these differences as Paul's speaking of different "sections" of the law. In Galatians it is the ceremonial and in Romans the moral section. He says,

When we consider the different passages in which he describes his view of the original nature of the law, the purpose of its institutions, his expressions seem to be inconsistent. The extreme limits are to be found, on the one hand, in the statements of the Roman letter: 'the law is holy, . . .' (vii. 12ff.); and on the other hand, in the judgment pronounced in the Galatian letter upon the Christians who are prepared to accept the law. . . . No doubt Paul is speaking here of the ceremonial section of the law, while in the Letter to the Romans he is discussing its moral precepts. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 267.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 154-155.

Thus ultimately he is led to the conclusion that "the relation between the statements in Romans and Galatians is not of such a nature as to compel us to suppose that these letters contain different views of the matter, and indicate a change in Paul's mind. The apparently most inconsistent utterances do not involve for him any contradiction."⁵⁷

The most important thing to notice here is that Weizsäcker thinks only of a "change of mind" in Paul (which, of course, he also rejects) and not of a change in the historical circumstances behind the epistle and which prompted its different formulations.

Having reached this kind of a solution to the problem of the "inconsistencies" in Paul's theology from one epistle to the next and thus thereby also having undermined his own intention to interpret Pauline theology historically, Weizsäcker falls back into the position which in fact views all of Paul's epistles and, in effect, all passages from the same perspective and against the same background. His treatment of the law is not extensive. Furthermore, he does not deal at all with the question of the "law of Christ," although he does speak of "the Pauline thought of a new spiritual life as a moral rule, a law of life, without at the same time reverting to the Jewish law."⁵⁸

What, then, does Weizsäcker understand to be the purpose and role of the law? How did Paul understand this important concept?

The law in itself, as it comes from God, is undoubtedly, when thought of as fulfilled, at one with righteousness. But the law, as it exists and was given in history, is not merely when

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 155.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 174.

confronted by the power of sin converted into its opposite; but it could never justify because that was not the purpose for which God gave it. Its object is the completion of sin, and it promotes salvation only indirectly, in so far as the servitude in which it places man has an educative effect, whose last result must be, 'through the law to die to the law.'⁵⁹

What this amounts to is a condemnation of the "godly" while the Christian gospel, the counterpart of the Jewish law, proposes a justification of the "ungodly." Not only was the attempt to gain righteousness by the law doomed to failure because the law was not given for this purpose, but just as importantly this effort served to hinder a man from knowing the true means of righteousness appointed by God. To put this into Weizsäcker's words: "Legalism, the very intention of becoming just by fulfilling the commandments, by works, has been wrong. And when he looked at the Jews who retained their unbelief in the face of the gospel (Paul) was convinced of the same fact; it was not imperfection, but the effort to reach righteousness that kept them away from the gospel."⁶⁰

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 157-158.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 156. For this theme of the "justification of the ungodly" cf. most recently E. Käsemann, "God's Righteousness in Paul," Journal for Theology and the Church, I (1965), 100-110. Cf. also P. Stuhlmacher, Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965).

PART 3: EDUARD REUSS

The position of Eduard Reuss is not totally dissimilar from that of F. C. Baur,⁶¹ although we can observe changes, both subtle and open. The earliest Jewish-Christian church had a "strictly legalistic understanding of salvation."⁶² Yet the congregation in Jerusalem and others following their lead had actually separated from the Synagogue.⁶³ In Antioch a still more liberal position had been assumed by the Jewish-Christian "friends of Stephen. . . who had probably already been in contact with heathen in their lives and had shared their faith and hope and had won many." According to Reuss this situation already existed when Paul arrived on the scene in Antioch. Thus he adds that "in the person of Paul they had gained just the man they needed" to enable them to understand "in the light of a theological conviction" that this action of theirs which had actually been done "almost instinctively" was "the only right thing."⁶⁴

⁶¹This observation is made in spite of Kümmel, op.cit., pp. 191-192. Kümmel has also noted the way in which Reuss shifted his position from the time of the first 1842 edition of his Geschichte to the time of his later works, including subsequent editions of his geschichte. Cited is E. Reuss, Die geschichte der Heiligen Schrift 6. Verb. und verm. Ausg. (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1887).

⁶²paragraph 53 (all references in this section are to paragraphs, not pages). In this respect it is interesting to note that Reuss actually interprets this to be a misunderstanding of Jesus' "quiet indications. . . for separation. . . and freedom." The followers of Jesus and the earliest community "did not yet at that time realize that fasting, sacrifice and circumcision could be discontinued without harm for salvation before he returned." (par. 32)

⁶³par. 57.

⁶⁴Ibid.

Reuss argues that at the time of his conversion Paul's own frame of mind was one of the moral distress of man generally and of his own remembrances of his own guilt-laden past and the impossibility of all philosophy or law to lead to any real divine justification. To this was added the idea of the substitutionary death of Jesus--thus continues Reuss' argumentation--and the idea of rebirth. The former served as atonement for the human guilt which lay so heavily on Paul's consciousness and as a help against the world and human weakness; the latter, allied with the spirit, assured man of redemption, something which works of the law and the power of the letter were unable to do. In this way, Reuss concludes, the law came to an end for Paul. And "filling the void left by the law there appeared a pure mysticism, freed from all idle dreaming."⁶⁵ In Reuss' understanding this is the Paul who epitomized the liberalizing process in the Jewish-Christian congregation at Antioch.

With the arrival in Antioch of the delegation from Jerusalem the Christians there became disturbed. "Thus to defend their conviction and teaching" Paul and Barnabas decided to bring their case directly to Jerusalem. There the apostles recognized that Paul's work had already borne results. Despite the "stiff-necked opposition" on the part of some members of the Jerusalem congregation who attended the conference, Paul was able to present his case to the satisfaction of the leaders, who "reached out their hands for common

⁶⁵
par. 59.

work and the preaching to the heathen was conceded to the delegation from Antioch."⁶⁶ Reuss summarizes by saying:

The practical result of this discussion was the recognition of those things which it was already too late to change or hinder, namely, of allowing the heathen to be baptized and thereby to come into the fellowship of all Christian hopes, without further conditions like those which were necessary for entrance into the Synagogue.⁶⁷

In this agreement, according to Reuss, lay the seeds for the later trouble in Paul's congregations. Many Pharisaically influenced Jewish-Christians protested against the concessions made to Paul. As they witnessed the continued growth of Paul's work their (useless) protests turned into more direct actions: "they attempted by the same means (as Paul), mission and preaching, to effect a reaction." At this point Reuss makes a careful distinction: "the other apostles in general did not support this enterprise, but they also had not freely and openly joined the Pauline movement, and thus they suddenly were in the untenable mediating position without influence and they were unable to prevent the old radicals from appropriating for themselves their revered names."⁶⁸

Thus we arrive at Reuss' account of the situation in Galatia. Most of the congregation consisted of Gentiles. However, it is very important to note that there was a Jewish element. Thus Reuss argues that among them (the Jewish-Christians) there must have been some misgivings about Paul's preaching. In Paul's absence this could

⁶⁶par. 65.

⁶⁷par. 66.

⁶⁸par. 70.

be exploited by someone opposed to Paul. And this is precisely what happened. "People sent from the Pharisaic party had terrorized the still Jewish conscience and through them had also led astray the formerly Gentile portion of the congregation."⁶⁹ At this point Paul picks up the argument with these Judaisers which is reflected in his epistle to the Galatians.

There is very little that is new and original in the work of Reuss and he has little to say about the law. Furthermore, the title he has given to his work: "the History of the holy Scriptures of the New Testament" is rather misleading, in that, as our current understanding of the history of the New Testament period and its writings shows⁷⁰ Reuss sees little connexion between "Kerygma" and "history." But Reuss seems to exemplify this period of scholarship after Baur. His psychologizing arguments about Paul's conversion are one example of this. Variations of this psychologizing theme find their way into most of the works on Paul, of which there is no lack, as well as the introductions of this time.⁷¹

⁶⁹par. 84. Reuss also observes in a footnote: "the narrative 2,11ff. also receives its correct meaning for the Epistle only when it is understood that Peter was brought into (the discussion) as the representative or type of certain Galatian Jewish Christians in whose conduct and reprimand they see themselves reflected." During this period there was a vigorous debate over the issue whether Paul's opponents were basically Jews (or Jewish Christians) who were within the congregation already at the time of Paul's arrival or whether they came from outside only at a later time. Cf. Holtzmann, op.cit., p.219.

⁷⁰Cf. the book that has stirred the whole recent discussion on "Kerygma and history" in the early church, Walter Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964).

⁷¹One example of this is A. Sabatier, The Apostle Paul. (New

PART 4: EDUARD GRAFE

There is one notable exception, however, to most of the tendencies within the Pauline research of this period which have just been briefly described. In a small work on "the Pauline doctrine of the Law"⁷² by Eduard Grafe we find a remarkable discussion of Paul's understanding of the Law in the light of the specific historical-polemical situations behind the individual epistles, especially Galatians and Romans where the most extensive discussions of the Law are to be found.

Although Grafe does resort to some of the psychologizing arguments which characterize this period,⁷³ other aspects of his

York: Pott, 1896) especially the chapter on "Paul's conversion." Furthermore, as the subtitle of this work suggests, Sabatier sees a development from the earlier epistles, which he calls "primitive Paulinism," to subsequent epistles, which represent "the later Paulinism." Discrepancies or variations between the epistles are thus conveniently explained as part of this "development" of the apostle. Moreover, Schweitzer's lament (*op. cit.*, p. 33) about the way in which Paul's theology was forced into the procrustean bed of a Reformation doctrinal system by the scholars of this period is well exemplified by Sabatier.

Another example of the psychologizing arguments of the period can be found in A. Jülicher's Einleitung in das Neue Testament. (Tübingen: Mohr, 1906) especially in the sections dealing with the "chronology" of Paul's life, pp. 24-33, and his "personality," pp. 33-37.

Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40, has an apt summary and critical analysis of these psychologizing interpretations of Paul. He singles out for special criticism Carl Holsten.

Thus, although there was in some circles recognition that Paul did reformulate his theological position, at least to a certain extent and on certain issues, from one epistle to another, the solution offered here must be termed inadequate.

⁷²E. Grafe, Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz (Freidburg: Mohr, 1893).

⁷³E.g. he considers Rom. 7:7-24 to be a personal-psychological

study of the Law in Paul's four chief epistles is not thereby rendered invalid. The chief thrust of his work was to attempt to show that no distinction can be made either between the use of νόμος with the definite article as compared to its use without the article or between a general concept of law and the singular concept of the Mosaic Law in Paul. "Paul deals only with a divine Law. He recognizes no distinction. The Mosaic Law is plainly the divine Law, therefore the general (Law)."⁷⁴ Furthermore, Paul did not "consciously and expressly" distinguish between ritual and ethical components or aspects of the Law. Grafe argues that if that had been the case then Paul would not have had such a difficult time clarifying his position over against that of the Judaizers.⁷⁵ For the Christian the Law was at an end. "There would have been no point in fighting if Paul had not been of the opinion that also for the ethical life of the Christian the Law could no longer be a decisive norm."⁷⁶ This brings Grafe to the point of a direct discussion of the role of polemical struggles in Paul's formulating of his state-

reminiscence of Paul. This was a common assumption until relatively recent times. Cf. W.G. Kümmel, Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929) and R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul," in his Existence and Faith (New York: Meridian, 1960), pp. 147-157.

⁷⁴Grafe, op. cit., p. 4.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 11. He cites Gal. 3:10 in support of this view.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 21. Grafe understands Gal. 2:17 in this light. Paul's opponents had argued: Christ is turned into a Servant of sin when the Law as a norm of conduct is laid aside by Paul.

ments about the Law, which is the most interesting and important aspect of his work for the current discussion, although it apparently went largely unnoticed by his contemporaries.

Grafe reasons that the unusual expressions about the Law, especially those which in some way or another speak of the Christian fulfilling the Law (Gal. 5:14, Rom. 8:4, 13:8,9,10, etc.), "were composed under the influence of the Apostle's opposition against his opponents."⁷⁷ Although his argument about the expression "the Law of Christ" is similar to this, he does not carry it quite as far: "The other improper application of νόμος is to be found where the Apostle speaks of a νόμος Χριστοῦ, Gal. 6:2, cf. 1 Cor. 9:21. Herein probably lies a certain accommodation ("Anbequemung") to the Jewish standpoint, which absolutely cannot be thought of as a true religion and morality without νόμος. The binding, ruling, guiding power--Paul obviously desires to say--which the Jew possesses in the Mosaic Law, for the Christian consists in Christ and his Spirit, Rom. 8:2."⁷⁸ He goes on to say that in these and similar passages (Rom. 3:27, 7:21, 23, 25, 8:2, 9:31, etc.) "νόμος can be translated as 'norm.'"⁷⁹

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 17.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁹Ibid. It is important to note what Grafe has to say about the concept of "power" in this context as well as what he apparently means by the term "norm". The latter apparently means something more like the "rule" or "measuring stick" idea that was applied to the concept of the Law in post-Reformation theology rather than the term "principle" which still more recently has been applied to "νόμος". Of the concept of "power" Grafe says, "As the Mosaic Law itself represents for (Paul) not only a norm, but at the same time also a force, a power, which lords it over those who stand below it, thus

Grafe has noticed that the "evaluation of the Law is considerably different in Galatians than it is in Romans." He notes that in Galatians Paul's tone is much more severe: "The man who is under the Law is in servitude under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ." In contrast to this, in Romans Paul speaks of the Law as πνευματικός and ἄγιος , with its ἐντολαί being δικάαι and ἀγαθαί , Rom. 7:10, 14.⁸⁰ The reason for these--and other--differences, Grafe maintains, can be traced to the fact that Paul is dealing with differing circumstances.⁸¹ Since Paul was the kind of person who participated in an affair "with his innermost soul" his approach varied from situation to situation, Grafe argues, using 1 Cor. 9:19f. as a major pillar of support. "A man who thinks and feels like that must place himself over against various kinds of opponents in various ways." Thus in Galatians "where the apostle attacks his adversaries and has done so most energetically in order to gain a victory, his assertions about the Law will involuntarily be sharper. . . . His excitement against his opponents. . . . goes so far as to make the sneering wish: ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς

in these contexts with νόμος the concept of power frequently preponderates, as especially in the passages from Rom. 7." pp. 10-11.

⁸⁰This discussion begins on p. 27 and continues through p. 30. These quotations are from pp. 27-28.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 28. Although Grafe does not make absolutely clear whether he sees different opponents in Galatians than those of Romans, he actually seems to be leaning heavily in that direction. The whole force of his argument in this section seems to hinge on such a distinction.

(5:12)."⁸² On the other hand, the situation surrounding the epistle to the Romans--and thus also the statements about the Law made in it--is altogether different. "His defense directs itself against such who in the congregation itself had not yet been able to gain any considerable support. . . . The Apostle here is much more calm and secure." The readers were not fanatical observers of the Law, nor were they at all hostile to Paul. The danger was that they might not advance in their training and so could easily become open to such influences. Paul's aim thus was to head off such developments, especially on the ethical side, as well as to prepare for his own arrival.⁸³

Paul obviously would have created more difficulties and misunderstandings among the Galatians if he had referred to the Law as πνευματικός or ἄγιος in his epistle to them. But in order to preclude any misunderstandings among the Romans, Grafe reasons, Paul had to use precisely such laudatory expressions for the Law when writing to them.⁸⁴

Grafe has deftly summarized his own very interesting position:

Through all of the dialectic Paul is in the first place--also in his epistles--a preacher of the Gospel. And the true preacher establishes his instructions and admonitions according to the requirements of his hearers. Since these are diverse, the instructions must also prove to be diverse; under circumstances which, because of the one-sided emphasis which is frequently required, are so diverse that statements directed to diverse groups of hearers at different times can make precisely the impression of being incompatible opposites.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., p. 29.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 30.

He concludes, however, by reasserting that in the main the Apostle remains consistent in his assertions that for Christians the Law has been abolished.⁸⁵ At the same time he also rejects the theory of a development within Paul's doctrine of the Law from the early period to the later which is the corresponding counterpart of his understanding of the interrelationship of history and Paul's formulation of his theological statements and at the same time argues for a very real Pauline hermeneutic.

PART 5: OTTO PFLEIDERER

In the works of Otto Pfleiderer, another pupil of F. C. Baur, we find a further continuation of the general direction and emphasis of the teacher's work. It was Pfleiderer's expressed intention, as the sub-title of his major work indicates,⁸⁶ to study Christianity as an "historical phenomenon. . . as the normal outcome of the manifold factors in the religious and ethical life of the time. . . ."⁸⁷ He has extensive chapters on the religio-historical background of Paul, both Jewish and Greek. However, what is not so clear for Pfleiderer is the relation between Paul's theology--once it had been developed within the given religio-historical context of his day--and

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 31.

⁸⁶O. Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906). Vol. 1 deals almost exclusively with Paul. Kümmel, op. cit., p. 262 discusses Pfleiderer as one of the "precursors" of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule."

⁸⁷Ibid., p. vii.

the specific historical situations of his life and in his churches.⁸⁸ Apparently he is too firmly fixed in lockstep with his teacher. Because Pfleiderer, like Baur, was operating with the understanding that in earliest Christianity there were only the two great parties opposing each other which then eventually "synthesized" into the old Catholic church, it was essential to him to emphasize that Paul's theological development occurred before his conflict with the Judaizers. For the same reason we find him arguing for the material consistency or continuity within Paul's epistles themselves.⁸⁹

According to Pfleiderer's reconstruction, the earliest Jewish Christian community accepted Jesus (i.e. forgiveness) alongside of the Jewish law. For them forgiveness was indeed necessary, since also Jewish piety readily acknowledged that observance of the law, at least for the "typical" man, was only imperfect. This basic premise--the need for forgiveness--was shared by Paul. However, for those Jewish Christians this forgiveness was necessary only for those aspects of a man's life which did not quite match up to the law.⁹⁰

⁸⁸It is significant to note that in his Hibbert Lectures of 1885 which dealt with the "influence of the Apostle Paul on the development of Christianity," Pfleiderer observes the following sequence: conversion of Paul, doctrinal teaching of Paul, the conflict of the apostle with Jewish Christians, reconciliation of Paulinism and Jewish Christianity, Paulinism and Gnosticism, Paulinism and the church. O. Pfleiderer, Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1897). Discussion of Paul's theology precedes the discussion of the conflict of Paul with his opponents--and is largely separate from it.

⁸⁹Nevertheless, as we shall note later, Pfleiderer did notice some shifts in emphasis from one epistle to another.

⁹⁰Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity, p. 26.

Paul developed his doctrine of justification differently from this basic premise and it was not shared by the Jewish Christian church of his time. When Paul says, "(We) know that a man is not justified by works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Christ Jesus, in order to be justified by faith in Christ, and not by works of the law, because by works of the law shall no one be justified," (Gal. 2:16, RSV) he is expressing a view that was shared by the church as a whole. But the reasoning of the Jewish Christians, says Pfleiderer, which is drawn from this, is reflected in the following verse: "But if, in our endeavor to be justified in Christ, we ourselves were found to be sinners, Christ is then an agent of sin!" In other words, Paul saw justification in terms of an "either-or" (either law or Christ), whereas primitive Jewish Christianity viewed it as a "both-and" proposition.

Pfleiderer summarizes this aspect of his position as follows:

The inference that the works of the law had now no more significance as a means of justification, that they were set aside by faith and had become, from the religious point of view, worthless, was drawn from the common premisses by Paul alone, whereas his Jewish-Christian opponents could see in it only a blasphemous degradation of Christ to be the patron of the sinful heathen life.⁹¹

Pfleiderer concludes that although "no doubt" the Jewish Christians "had learned from Jesus" that the moral law had a "higher value. . . . as compared with the ceremonial, . . . it is still a very long step to the perception of the religious indifference and the non-binding character of the ceremonial law."⁹²

⁹¹Ibid., p. 27.

⁹²Ibid., p. 28.

The growth and success of the Pauline mission among the Gentiles forced the issue. The Jewish Christians of Judaea could no longer fail to see the threat to their position imposed by the mixing of Jews and Gentiles in Pauline congregations. There were some, in other words, who, because of their Pharisaic background, were extremely zealous for the law⁹³ and for this reason opposed the work and position of Paul. These are the 'false brethren' of Gal. 2:4, an extremist "wing" of the Judaeen church. Paul was faced with the necessity of opposing their legalism while at the same time seeking to gain recognition for his mission by the Jerusalem apostles and the "mother church." This was the occasion for his trip to Jerusalem.

What does Pfleiderer understand to be the outcome of that trip? Reasoning in a fashion similar to that of Baur, Pfleiderer concludes that the "pillars"--Peter, James and John--could not disregard Paul's success as an obvious proof of God's grace, and in spite of the "uncompromising zealots" they grasped "the right hand of fellowship" with Paul.⁹⁴

This state of mutual respect continued until the time of the affair narrated in Gal. 2:11-15 in which Peter is the central figure. Pfleiderer sees in Peter's actions at Antioch the key turning-point in the relations between Paul (and Gentile Christianity generally) and the Jerusalem apostles. Paul's rebuke of Peter meant a more or

⁹³Ibid., p. 115.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 118. Elsewhere he also remarks, "The chief Apostles threw their vote into the scale in favor of free heathen Christianity." Pfleiderer, lectures, p. 107.

less open breach between them, which at the same time moved Peter and the other apostles closer to the subversive tendencies of the extremists. Thus Pfleiderer argues that although Paul "worked hard and loyally at the gathering of a collection for the poor of the Judaeae churches. . . , " a "tone of asperity" crept into his remarks about those "who seemed to be somewhat," the "pillars" (Gal. 2:6,9). "And in fact he had no grounds for feeling very friendly. For at every step of his further missionary travels the Judaising agitators who crept into his churches and stirred up disaffection against him, made his life bitter to him."⁹⁵

In spite of this rather elaborate and sometimes conjectural reconstruction of the historical events surrounding Paul's life and work, little if any specific relationship is drawn between it and the theology of the apostle. In Pfleiderer's understanding the two positions were fixed before they ever came into conflict with one another. However, there are several paragraphs in which Pfleiderer does discuss the conflict between Paul and his opponents in its bearing on Paul's theology. The most important of these is that in which he deals with the expression "the law of Christ."

These opponents had raised the objection that Paul's doctrine of faith had "produced morally injurious effects." Thus Paul had to

⁹⁵Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity, p. 123f. The real source of eventual trouble, he reasons, between Paul and Peter lay in the weakness of the apostolic agreement. "It was a treaty of peace in which were hidden the germs of fresh dissensions." Pfleiderer, lectures, p. 116.

prove especially the practically beneficial consequence of this doctrine, namely the "strength of love required for right moral conduct." "He makes his Judaizing opponents ask: 'Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?'"⁹⁶ It is in this very context, then, that Pfleiderer develops his understanding of "the law of Christ."

He argues:

That same faith in Christ which has delivered Christians from the killing Law of the letter, has likewise made them subject to the life-giving Law of the spirit of Christ. This new Law is no longer merely an outward letter, which could only command and judge, but it is the inward impulse of love, of enthusiasm, of devotion and reverence, which desires nothing else than to please and become like him who is its life, its highest good, its true self. This new Law of Christ, therefore, brings with the obligation likewise the power of meeting it, for it is happily no longer a frigid command, which would impose compulsion on the resolves of the heart; it is, on the contrary, the most living impulse of the inmost heart itself. . . .⁹⁷

Pfleiderer immediately expands upon his use of the expression "the law of Christ": "It is evident that Paul has herewith propounded a new divine principle of greatest moment, a principle equally far removed from both heathen license and Jewish legalism."⁹⁸ It is not clear precisely what he means by "principle," but apparently he has attempted to move away from the position which had been in vogue since Baur, where this "law of Christ" was interpreted in the more strict sense of "law."⁹⁹

⁹⁶Pfleiderer, lectures, p. 20.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 72-73.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 73.

⁹⁹It ought to be noted that in general Pfleiderer's understanding of Paul's use of the concept "νόμος" is remarkably close to that of Baur. However, when the term "law" is used in the expressions "the law of the mind" and "the law of sin" (Rom. 7:23), he understands

Pfleiderer has one more discussion of the law which is extremely interesting. Although his general discussions of Paul's understanding of the law fall into the usual pattern of a "systematic" treatment,¹⁰⁰ he does have one section where he recognizes a difference between Galatians and 2 Corinthians on the one hand and Romans on the other. In the former, he argues, Paul has emphasized the "deadening letter" aspect of the law, its function as a tyrant who instills fear through the threat of punishment. This, says Pfleiderer, "reflects more on the ceremonial side of the Jewish law than on its moral content."¹⁰¹ In Romans, however, Paul shows more of a desire to "conciliate the Jewish Christians." According to Pfleiderer Paul must have determined to do this after discovering that his discussions of the law in Galatians and 2 Corinthians "offended the Jewish conscience." At

it to mean "impulse." The former is an "ethical impulse," the latter an "impulse (or 'compulsive power') to sin." Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity, pp. 272-273, 278. In addition to this, like most of the research in the period after Baur, he traces much of the doctrine--especially Paul's rejection of the law--to Paul's personal experiences, cf. Ibid., p. 305 and passim.

¹⁰⁰Pfleiderer comments: "(Paul) recognizes the written law as a divine authority and argues from it, and in doing so, follows Jewish usage in identifying the term law (Torah) with the book of the law (the Pentateuch), and occasionally extends it to Scripture in general (cf. Rom. 3:19, 31; Gal. 4:21)." Ibid., p. 304. These insights are necessary for a point of departure for any analysis of Paul's understanding of the law.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 306-307. In general Pfleiderer does not distinguish various aspects or uses of the law, e.g. "(Paul) was too much the Pharisee to be able to distinguish in this critical fashion between the transitory and the permanent, between the form and the content of the law; the law was for him an indivisible whole of divine revelation. . . ." Ibid., p. 309.

any rate, in Romans Paul "emphasizes the fact that the law is holy, just and good, inasmuch as it has for its content moral good, and for its origin a revelation of God (Rom. 7:12)."¹⁰² In Galatians and 2 Corinthians the reason for the law's inability to effect righteousness in man, Pfleiderer maintains, lies primarily in the law itself, whereas in Romans "the cause of that lies not in itself but in the fleshly nature of man (7:14, 8:3)."¹⁰³ Pfleiderer's discerning of varying emphases in these epistles marks an important advance beyond the position of Baur, especially in view of the fact that Pfleiderer explicitly rejects, as we have already seen, any distinguishing by Paul between various aspects or function of the law.

What Pfleiderer has not attempted to do in the course of this otherwise very incisive discussion is to offer an analysis as to why Paul evaluates the law as harshly as he does in Galatians and 2 Corinthians. In other words, he does not deal with the reasons for these varying emphases from one epistle to another beyond the vague and almost intangible sensing of some "offense of the Jewish conscience." The reason for this is obviously the fact that he is still in fact operating with the presupposition of Baur that there were two--and only two--theological or doctrinal positions in earliest Christianity, the Jewish and the Hellenistic, Paul himself being the foremost representative of the latter--so much so that this position is sometimes actually referred to as "Paulinism."¹⁰⁴ However,

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 307.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Schweitzer, op.cit., pp. 66-74 presents an intriguing

in spite of this limitation, Pfleiderer's conclusion drawn from this discussion is both interesting and valuable:

practically it comes essentially to very much the same thing, whether one says that the fault lies in the incapacity of the fleshly man to fulfil the law, or in the incapacity of the law of the letter to overcome the opposition of the flesh and to make man obedient instead of rebellious.¹⁰⁵

PART 6: WILLIAM WREDE

Although William Wrede's Paulus¹⁰⁶ originally appeared as part of a series of "popular books," its value extends well into the area of technical scholarship. This becomes apparent as soon as we note that he has perceived a connexion between the polemical-historical situation in which Paul found himself and the way in which he formulated his theology, especially his doctrine of justification and its "negative counterpart", the freedom from the law. He says that "Paul's central doctrine, that the Gentile was partaker of salvation apart from the law, after his death, disappeared because it was a polemical doctrine and the situation in which and for which it was polemically addressed had disappeared."¹⁰⁷

Wrede shares the presuppositions of his day concerning the identity of these opponents of Paul. However, he adds an important insight with regard to their position within Christianity of Paul's

analysis of Pfleiderer's account of Paul's Hellenism.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 307-308.

¹⁰⁶W. Wrede, Paul (London: Green, 1907).

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 173. The implications for the current discussion about hermeneutic of Wrede's assertion that this doctrine disappeared after Paul's death are important, but cannot be discussed here.

time. These opponents, Wrede remarks from an historical perspective, were "trying to serve a cause, that from their standpoint they believed that genuine Christianity was endangered by Paul."¹⁰⁸ According to their own understanding, these Jewish-Christian opponents were "orthodox" and Paul was the "heretical" threat. However, it was not against Paul alone that their opposition was directed. Paul was neither the first nor the only missionary to the Gentiles.¹⁰⁹ Nor, for that matter, was Paul's missionary activity confined exclusively to the Gentiles. As a matter of fact, one of the chief reasons for Paul's success among the Gentiles was precisely because he had gone to the Jews of the diaspora with his Gospel. It was the "worshippers of God," as their popular designation described them, who had become attracted to the Judaism of the synagogues but remained on the fringes of Judaism itself, who were most strongly attracted to Paul.

However, Wrede sees Judaism as an unwilling participant in Paul's success. To be sure, "Judaism avenged itself. . . . for the unwilling assistance which it had rendered the apostle, by. . . . obstruction and. . . . persecution."¹¹⁰ It was this kind of Gentile mission which stirred conservative Jews to action.¹¹¹ The counter influence to Paul proceeded primarily from the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem,¹¹² who were not really Christians--only Jews "who believed in Messiah."¹¹³

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 41f.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 50-51.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 63.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 64.

Nevertheless, in spite of these extremists, the 'pillars' (Peter, James and John) accepted Paul, "but," Wrede adds, "within certain limits."¹¹⁴ There was a "recognition of Paul by the authorities--and yet how far from a real solution."¹¹⁵ The occurrence of the confrontation between Peter and Paul at Antioch proves the unsatisfactory nature of this solution. Furthermore, it resulted in a "very serious breach of relations."¹¹⁶ Consequently "Jewish Christianity organized in Paul's own communities an express counter-mission." And, Wrede adds, "there are signs that the movement was not confined to Galatia and Corinth."¹¹⁷ In fact, this agitation apparently originated in Jerusalem itself. But at this point Wrede exercises caution by adding that "it remains obscure how the original apostles themselves stood with regard to (these agitators)."¹¹⁸ He suggests that the chief suspicion falls on James, but goes no further than that.

However, having thus postulated a probable connexion between the highest echelons of the Jerusalem church and the movement organized and originating from there against Paul, Wrede is then confronted with the necessity of asking why Paul did not openly and completely sever all relations with Jerusalem. In answer to this he can only speculate that, although Paul "was revolutionary enough,"

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 68.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 69.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 70. Whether this cryptic remark implies Wrede's agreement or a hesitant inclination to disagree with Baur is not clear.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 71.

yet he was prevented by the "deep-rooted authority of the mother community."¹¹⁹

What of the relation between Paul's theological position and this historical-polemical situation? First of all, Wrede asserts that "it is no great feat to unearth contradictions, even among his leading thoughts."¹²⁰ He elaborates upon this by saying that "certain main lines remain unalterable; for the rest, the thought wavers and alters with heedless freedom from one letter to another, even from chapter to chapter, without the slightest regard for logical consistency in details."¹²¹ This point of view coupled with Wrede's already explained understanding of a connexion between Paul's theology and historical circumstances presumably ought to put him in a position from which he could, by combining them, make an important advance. But in spite of this Wrede does not perceive any connexion between those changes or "inconsistencies" which he discovers in Paul's theology and possible changes in the various situations which Paul actually confronted. In fact, it is apparently true that Wrede, like Baur, actually does not recognize any significant changes in the various situations in which Paul was working. Rather, he seems to attribute Paul's "contradictions"--he sees them occurring even "from chapter to chapter"--to Paul himself, that is, presumably to Paul's personality or at least to his own personal circumstances,

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 72.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 77.

¹²¹Ibid.

although he does not explicitly say this himself nor does he use the term "personality."

As has been mentioned,¹²² Wrede understands justification to be Paul's polemical doctrine. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that he draws any specific significance from this for this interpretation of Paul's understanding of the law aside from merely making the very general observation that Paul's attack on the law was the "negative half" of his doctrine of justification. On the whole his rather systematic treatment of the law is identical to that of Baur.

However, it is necessary to clarify Wrede's understanding of Paul more precisely. "Certainly Paul never dreams," says Wrede, "that the content of the moral precepts, such as the ten commandments, is false (e.g., Rom. 7:7,12,14). But he denies the right of the law to demand their fulfilment; he declares that every 'thou shalt' is done away."¹²³ Thus apparently Wrede is maintaining a distinction between the legalistic form and the moral content of the law. The former, he avers, was rejected by Paul, while not the slightest doubt was ever cast upon the abiding validity of the latter. This, then, according to Wrede, was Paul's ethic: "as regards the content of its demands, (it) does not exhibit many original features. It is in the main the Jewish ethic, reduced of course--and the impor-

¹²²Cf. above, p. 42.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 125-126. It ought to be noted that, consistent with his well known understanding of the differences between Jesus and Paul, Wrede also sees a difference between them with regard to the criticism of the law: Paul's criticism of the law was not, like Jesus', an ethical one. Ibid., p. 160.

tance of this point is very great--on the legal side."¹²⁴ He elaborates still further: Paul's radical rejection of the law has "something artificial about it. No ethical religion can dispense with the thought that God gives commandments to men."¹²⁵ In this context then, Wrede understands the "law of Christ" and the "law of 'love thy neighbor.'" "What else, indeed, have we before us when again and again he enforces, in imperatives, the moral commandments? But even more: when polemic is silent, the law of retribution appears again without disguise: God judges according to works."¹²⁶

Thus it is clear that Wrede understands the term "νόμος" in the expression "the law of Christ" as being in some way or other a genuine law, although presumably a law trimmed of its legalistic trappings.¹²⁷ However, since Wrede has arrived at an understanding of the "law of Christ" in the way in which he has, he also then sees no relation between this "law of Christ" and the polemical situation in which it was uttered. Wrede apparently has forsaken his historical analysis, which is remarkably keen at times, for the sake of his own particular understanding of what an "ethical religion" is

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 117.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 136.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷This non-legalistic understanding of the law which Paul presumably held is interpreted by Wrede in the light of redemption effected by Christ: "the death and resurrection of Christ release man from the curse of the law and the angelic powers (Gal. 3:13, 4:4)." p. 100. Concerning those angelic powers (elements) Wrede remarks: "If neither 'angels nor powers' are able to separate the redeemed from the love of God (Rom. 8:38), before redemption they clearly possessed the power. . . . Even behind the law stand the angels. . . ." Ibid., p. 96.

or ought to be.

Finally, however, it is necessary to point out that Wrede does address himself, albeit almost in passing, to the matter of how Paul's radical rejection of the law was met by his contemporaries. "Paul himself, like his followers afterwards, was obliged to hear the reproach that his doctrine favoured moral indifference, because it laid all on grace and rejected the law. He answered that the spirit, of itself, did all that the law could require."¹²⁸ This last discussion is remarkable in that apparently Wrede has not brought it into agreement with his interpretation of "the law of Christ." If Paul was accustomed to using that expression, which we certainly could imply on the basis of Wrede's interpretation, why should Paul have been reproached at all?! That is to say, if Paul utilized the expression "the law of Christ" purely--or at least primarily--as a natural explication of his ethics, why was he accused of advocating a faith without law?

PART 7: HEINRICH JULIUS HOLTZMANN

Heinrich Julius Holtzmann's treatment of the Law as well as his analysis of Paul's struggles with his opponents present very little that is genuinely new or that has advanced beyond the studies of his predecessors. Like F. C. Baur and others, he tends to throw a blanket over all of Paul's epistles, identifying all of the opponents with one another. Yet in spite of this, he does recognize some

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 135.

variation from one epistle to another. For example, he finds that Romans shows a kind of "conciliatory tone," whereas Philippians 3 indicates that Paul still has a "lingering dissatisfaction."¹²⁹

By the Law, according to Holtzmann, Paul always understands the Mosaic Torah, unless a genitive (as νόμος πίστεως Rom. 3:27; ὁ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς 8:2; νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Gal. 6:2) was added to it, or, as in Rom. 2:14, 7:23, the context obviously proves otherwise. He sees Paul making no distinction between the ceremonial and the ethical content of the Law, or between the Priestly and Deuteronomic codes.¹³⁰ "The Apostle knows nothing of two promulgations of the law, one outward and historical, one overlapping and inward. . . ."¹³¹ In spite of the fact that the Law is composed in the form of letters (2 Cor. 3:7), it is holy, just and good (as well as spiritual). If man were the same (spiritual) he could fulfill the Law (Rom. 7:12, 14, etc.), because it would correspond to his own inner will and would not lead a separate existence as letter carved in stone (2 Cor. 3:3). "Precisely thereby all the presuppositions of the Pauline doctrine of redemption would also collapse, Gal. 2:21, 3:21. To that extent the doctrine of the impossibility of fulfilling the Law rests on a conclusion drawn from Christology."¹³²

¹²⁹H.J. Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der Neutestamentliche theologie (Tübingen: Mohr, 1911), I, 467. It is important to note that Holtzmann connects Phil. 1:15-18 with Romans. He thus implicitly--although not explicitly--distinguishes between Phil. 1 and 3. For a brief summary of Holtzmann's understanding of Paul's Galatian opponents, cf. his Einleitung in das Neue Testament, pp. 219f.

¹³⁰Holtzmann, Neutestamentliche theologie, II, p. 25.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 28.

¹³²Ibid., p. 29.

Perhaps the most important insight, for Holtzmann himself, which he draws concerning Paul's use of the term " νόμος " is this: he argues that since, according to Rom. 7:10, the Law was given for the purpose of making alive, and since, according to Gal. 3:21, it can in no wise make alive, "there is an antinomy which actually lies within the Pauline concept of Nomos itself."¹³³ His fuller account of this goes thus:

This antinomy, according to which the Law retains divine authority and yet for the believer no longer has any validity, is in itself not irrelevant. It becomes tolerable for the Apostle only by virtue of a hermeneutic, which, in spite of the fact that it still follows typological as well as allegorical points of view, still it is allied with the Alexandrian as well as with the Palestinian. According to Rom. 2:29 there is a circumcision 'in the Spirit' and a circumcision 'in the letter', just as there is a spiritual service of God (Rom. 12:1 λογικὴ λατρεία) in contrast to that which is practiced according to the letters of the law. . . .¹³⁴

It is also necessary, however, to take note of the fact that in the course of all of this discussion about the "Pauline antinomy"

Holtzmann has not asked the question as to whether this antinomy actually exists because of variations from epistle to epistle, i.e. in the various situations which prompted Paul to explicate his theology in diverse ways and by means of diverse expressions.

In Holtzmann's understanding of Paul this doctrine of the Law is "a piece of the Pauline Gnosis." Herein also lies for Holtzmann "the solution of the antinomy." "In the sense of the Gnostics Paul also can express the solution of the antinomy, namely, that behind and over Moses who is the personality representing the letters and

¹³³Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 38.

the temporal meaning of the Law stands the Scripture itself as a personality of a higher order, perhaps coinciding with the Alexandrian Wisdom. . . ."¹³⁵ As an instance of this Pauline concept of Scripture, Holtzmann cites Gal. 3:8 as well as other passages from Galatians and Romans. "Thus Paul has for his part as a Jew on the one hand protected and secured the highest thoughts of his people, the palladium for the most narrow book-religion, but at the same time he manipulates and reinterprets this same Old Testament as though it had been previously appointed for the Christians. . . ."¹³⁶

PART 8: JOHANNES WEISS

The work of Johannes Weiss marks a significant mile-stone of advance beyond most of the scholarship preceding him, at least regarding the issues that concern us. Most especially can we see this with regard to his ability to analyze and understand the historical situation surrounding the writing of the Pauline epistles. In a sense, what Weiss has done is pick up the various threads of analysis stemming from the work of New Testament scholars since F. C. Baur and weave them into a remarkably perceptive and whole fabric. For the most part the "raw material" was there in the work of scholars from Baur to Wrede and Holtzmann. This is not to minimize the work of Weiss. Quite the contrary: the great genius of Weiss lay in his dexterity in fashioning this unified garment of historical events of the earliest Christian community leading up to and becoming the

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 40-41.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 41.

very background of the work of the apostle Paul, and in fact in which Paul himself participated in such a prominent way.

One of the basic observations which Weiss makes is that the epistles of Paul have what he calls an "occasional character." By that he means "they had their origin in quite definite historical situations, they were anything but 'literature' meant for the future and for general publication or essays with a universal appeal. Hence, it is really letters that lie before us. . . ."137 Thus, as we might expect, Weiss devotes much attention to his analysis of these "definite historical situations."

First of all, it must be pointed out that Weiss makes a distinction between Paul's actual theological development, which he sees as having taken place in the earliest years after his conversion and of which we know very little, and his explication of his theological ideas in what from time to time are very diverse formulations. Of the former Weiss says: "the 'development' which some think they can discern in the period of the letters--ten years, at the most--is not worth considering at all."138 Within the latter category Weiss would include several factors: "Paul went to great lengths to find points of contact with his hearers' way of thinking."139 Then, too, Paul's own personality plays a role in his formulating of his theological ideas: ". . . he was such a many-sided person that different

137J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), I, 155.

138Ibid., p. 206.

139Ibid., p. 242.

views at different times are only to be expected from him."¹⁴⁰ Finally, Weiss also sees the polemical situations in which Paul was involved as prompting specific and at times varying theological formulations. "It is a question whether he would have formulated the sharp antithesis, 'not works of the Law but faith,' and 'faith alone,' as it is found in Galatians and Romans before his controversy with the Judaizers."¹⁴¹ Later, in his discussion of the epistle to the Galatians, Weiss is more specific with regard to this last point. "This almost passionate struggle against the Law in the Epistle to the Galatians," he says, "is explained, in part at least, by the emotion and personal bitterness which the attacks of the Judaizers in Galatia had aroused in him."¹⁴²

In contrast to these statements about the Law in Galatians Weiss places the "positive assertions" about the Law in Romans. His conclusion is that these "two trains of thought are comprehensible only as deposits of two different epochs of his life. The antinomian originates in the period of the great crisis when he learned to consider as loss everything which he had formerly thought of as gain."¹⁴³

In a sense all three of these factors, Paul's desire to find points of contact with his hearers' way of thinking, his personality,

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 245-246. As an example of how Paul does express himself quite differently at different times Weiss points to a comparison of Rom. 1:18ff. and Gal. 4:8f., which, he says, "sounds quite a different note."

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 231.

¹⁴²Ibid., pp. 548-549.

¹⁴³Ibid., pp. 549-550.

and the historical situations in which and to which he was speaking, are really inseparable. The first bears especially on the religious-historical background of those hearers, part of which, no doubt, was the religious propaganda being preached by Paul's opponents. Secondly, although Paul's personality as such is virtually inaccessible to the historian, that, too, must have been significantly affected by the debates and disputes in which Paul became engaged. All of this is not to say, however, that the point is not well taken by Weiss to distinguish between these various factors which were at work in the formulating of Pauline theology, especially in the attempt to explain or clarify differing and contrasting formulations.

On the question of the identity of Paul's opponents and their goals, Weiss presents nothing that is intrinsically new. The apostles recognized Paul as an apostle, and did so honestly. The expression 'right hand of fellowship' implied cordiality and affection. The agreement was not simply a matter of "getting out of each others' way" but "the division of work was intended quite positively; both would carry on the same work but each by his own method (which also meant a mutual recognition of each other's methods)."¹⁴⁴ "The charity collection should as it were form a bond of love between the two missionary undertakings."¹⁴⁵

At this point, however, Weiss offers an interpretation of the course of events which had not been widely suggested previously. The issue of circumcision was raised in the course of some or all of Paul's conversations with the Jerusalem apostles, as the statement

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 268 (cf. p. 269). ¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 269.

"not even Titus. . . . was compelled to be circumcised. . . ." (Gal. 2:3) shows. His understanding of this event begins with the assumption that this issue of circumcision was raised or it would not have become involved in the debate at Galatia. As a matter of fact, there must have been a brisk fight over the issue, especially the circumcision of the traveling companion of Paul himself. Weiss reasons that Paul's emphatic statement about the "false brethren" in this immediate context bears this out (cf. 2:4). But according to Weiss' interpretation, Titus was actually circumcised. Paul's point in 2:3 is that he was not compelled to submit to it. His textual evidence for this is the fact that " οἷς οὐδέ " in 2:5--around which everything apparently revolves--is not attested in D* d Iren Tert and other witnesses. Weiss also argues that this would not have been contrary to Paul's way of doing things either, since he himself explicitly stated that, for the gospel's sake, he "to the Jews became as a Jew" (1 Cor. 9:20). As further evidence Weiss points out that Acts (16:3) "records an instance of this. He had Timothy, whom he wished to take with him on his journey, circumcised 'for the sake of the Jews.'"¹⁴⁶ Thus Weiss gives the following kind of meaning to this passage: "in order to take away from the false brethren every possible reason for finding fault, in order to establish the truth of the Gospel more firmly in principle, Paul yielded 'for an hour' in that 'way of subjection' which (τῇ) the readers knew."¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 271.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 271-272.

Furthermore, Weiss' understanding of the confrontation at Antioch is, for the most part, very much akin to other proposals since Baur. He sees two parties or groups within the Jerusalem mother church, "a more liberal and a more strict" one.¹⁴⁸ The latter was allied to James, either by direct communication and commission or at least by agreement of "opinion." These are they who came to Antioch and reproached Peter (and Barnabas) for their liberal attitudes. By their insistence they apparently succeeded in disrupting the table fellowship which presumably had grown up between the Gentile and Jewish-Christians. Since this had been the heart of their unity, the Antioch congregation must have been "torn asunder."

This, according to Weiss, must have placed the Gentile-Christians and thus also Paul into an impossible position: they had to choose between accepting this division of the congregation or, in effect, become Jewish proselytes in order to regain the lost table fellowship and unity.¹⁴⁹ Paul's answer took the form of his denuncia-

¹⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 273f.

¹⁴⁹This is Weiss's interpretation of the statement made by Paul to Peter: 'How compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?' (Gal. 2:14). Weiss feels that although the emissaries from James "apparently adhered to the Jerusalem agreement, at least technically" --because he sees no evidence that they demanded that the Gentiles observe the Jewish Law, "this action was, after all, an abrogation of the Jerusalem unification measure. Logically. . . it meant that their (i.e. the Gentile Christians') baptism was considered as non-existent." (Ibid., p. 274). The reason for all of this at Antioch was actually because at the Jerusalem unity meeting "not all things had been well-thought out ahead, even by Paul" and because they "had not discussed all ramifications or implications of Paul's work among the Gentiles." (Ibid.)

tion of Peter.¹⁵⁰ This obviously rendered unavoidable the breach between him and the Judaizing advocates of the Law.¹⁵¹ Weiss concludes that "the Judaizers experienced the triumph of being able to show that the agreement was defective and impossible to carry out."¹⁵²

Thus it happened that "Jewish agitators came from Jerusalem past Antioch to Galatia."¹⁵³ This, then, was the occasion of the Epistle to the Galatians. The "extremist faction" in Jerusalem had "succeeded in making the Jewish-Christian majority uncertain as to their position, in causing a rift in the churches, and finally in driving Paul from Antioch."¹⁵⁴ They were also moving toward Galatia,

¹⁵⁰Weiss points out that Paul himself in Galatians says that he accused Peter of 'hypocrisy,' but that Peter was really guilty only of "vagueness, weakness, perhaps indeed fear of Jewish fanaticism as well." (*Ibid.*, p. 275). Weiss maintains that what Paul actually tried to accomplish in his confrontation with Peter was "to make Cephas realize his inconsistent conduct. . . ." (*Ibid.*) The reason, according to Weiss, why Peter is singled out, of those opposed by Paul at Antioch,--and he alone is named in Gal. 2:11ff.--is that the Galatian opponents of Paul "had set up Peter as the genuine and true apostle in contrast to himself." (*Ibid.*, p. 275, n. 17.) (It ought to be noted that Weiss also concludes that Paul "really was defeated" here in this confrontation at Antioch. *Ibid.*)

¹⁵¹The end result of this confrontation as far as the Antioch congregation is concerned is described by Weiss: "So we hear nothing of the answers of Cephas and Barnabas, and we would know nothing of the outcome of the quarrel if the following facts did not speak for themselves with sufficient clearness: that Paul henceforth went on his missionary journeys without Barnabas, and that. . . . the Jerusalem church regulated the question of table fellowship for the churches of Syria and Cilicia in their own way without reference to Paul." (*Ibid.*, pp. 275f.)

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 298-299.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 299. After examining the question of the time and place of origin of the Epistle, Weiss concludes that it must be left open.

although Weiss concludes from Gal. 1:9 that they had not yet actually arrived on that scene. However, Paul's work in Galatia had already by the time of the writing of the Epistle experienced the opposition of "earlier agitators" who "in their aims and principles were identical both with the false brethren who had penetrated the church at Antioch. . . . and with those 'from James' who came on the scene after the event."¹⁵⁵ The opponents in Galatia do not, according to Weiss, belong to the church there. "Paul distinguishes them sharply from 'the brethren' whom he rebukes with love and sorrow, while he cannot find words harsh enough for the agitators." "Their purpose is plain," adds Weiss, "they wish to compel them to be circumcised on the plea of moral necessity (6:12f.)." What Weiss adds is also interesting: "The foundation for this demand can be understood from the nature of Paul's counter argument: the promise belongs to Abraham and his seed; you must therefore become sons of Abraham if you wish to share in the salvation."¹⁵⁶

The preaching of these agitators contained three main features: demand for circumcision (not yet successful),¹⁵⁷ observance of feast days, Sabbaths, etc. (already at least partially successful), attack on Paul's apostolic rank. Concerning this third point they claimed that Paul had been summoned to Jerusalem to give account of his

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 300.

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Weiss remarks that "the obligation to keep the whole Law was inevitably bound up with circumcision, but the Judaizers appear to have promised some mitigation in this respect, so that Paul must begin by showing them the full impact of circumcision." Ibid.

method of proclaiming the Gospel: Paul was in effect a missionary "by the grace of the original Apostles and of the Jerusalem church." At this time Weiss picks up a point that he had argued earlier. The opponents "had made the damaging point that Paul himself occasionally preached circumcision (5:11); at the same time reference would have been made to Timothy and, if our understanding of the matter is correct, to Titus as well."¹⁵⁸

Against this background Weiss seeks to interpret the Epistle to the Galatians, especially in dealing with the statements about the Law and its antithesis to faith.¹⁵⁹

For Weiss the expression "the Law of Christ" does not play a central role. First of all, he presents a discussion of the context of this statement in the Epistle to the Galatians. Beginning in Gal. 5:13:

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 301.

¹⁵⁹As the title of this work indicates, Weiss' objective is not detailed exegetical work in the narrower sense of the word, but to present a history of earliest Christianity. Of course, exegetical work is necessary to achieve this goal, and thus he devotes attention to it. But the emphasis and intention lie in another direction. It is very interesting and significant that Weiss' magnum opus has turned out to be a history of earliest Christianity--and not a New Testament theology or something of that nature. An entire generation has passed in which the winds of New Testament scholarship have blown in a different direction. Most recently, however, these winds have begun to shift again and interest has again been stimulated in the history of earliest Christianity. This is signaled by the "rediscovery" of W. Bauer's Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei, which indicates that it is not only the kerygma but the kerygma and history which have become the focal point of interest for New Testament scholarship today. (Cf. p. 63 below).

The theory of the 'fulfilling of the Law,' stated both in Gal. 5:13f. and Rom. 13:8ff., is also to be understood from this point of view as representing a certain via media between rejection and acceptance of the binding force of the Law.¹⁶⁰

In addition Weiss has also theorized that "the similarity of the wording in both passages shows that for the moment Paul had not, in fact, visualized the idea, but reaches back to a Jewish theory which would also have been accepted in the main by the Judaizers."¹⁶¹

After briefly tracing the Jewish background of Paul's statement, Weiss concludes: "One thus perceives clearly that the whole argument is developed on a Jewish basis. Paul is here arguing from Jewish-Hellenistic hypotheses."¹⁶² From this Weiss deduces that "in this sense therefore Paul upholds the basic demands of the Law as also binding for Christians."¹⁶³ Thus, for Weiss Paul's antinomian assertions stem from his battles with Judaism, but all the while for Paul the Christian "can perform an action which corresponds to the demands of the 'law of God,' that is, to its great moral and basic demands." Because the Christian is "under the impulse of the Spirit", he "cannot do otherwise." His Spirit enthusiasm carries the Christian to a "doing of the will of God."¹⁶⁴ Accordingly Weiss also understands the Pauline imperatives, which "must move along parallel to that enthusiastic mode of thought according to which the new life is a fruit of the Spirit."¹⁶⁵

Apparently this is also the context in which Weiss understands

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 551. ¹⁶¹Ibid. ¹⁶²Ibid., p. 552.

¹⁶³Ibid. ¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 553. ¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 554.

and interprets the expression "the Law of Christ", since it is here that he makes mention of it. However, Weiss' treatment of it becomes somewhat ambiguous when one examines it more closely. For him it seems to have no connection to the polemical-historical background of the Epistle to the Galatians. Rather, in addition to his apparently having linked this expression to Paul's enthusiastic understanding of the "fruit of the Spirit", Weiss seems also to associate it with "the words and example of the Lord."¹⁶⁶ Weiss summarizes his position by saying: "Paul the 'pneumatic' is far from setting up a new law in place of the old. Of course in principle this would not prevent him from also occasionally quoting sayings of the Lord--as a matter of fact in Gal. 6:2 he also refers to the law of Christ--but it is characteristic of him that anything of this sort rarely occurs in his epistles."¹⁶⁷

In this connection Weiss then discusses the tension which he also recognizes in Paul's position. Not only does he see the "words and example of the Lord" playing a normative role for Paul, but on the other hand it is more characteristic of "the Apostle's way of thinking that a norm lying outside of his personality tends to disappear" by virtue of Paul's understanding of an emphasis on the "working of the Spirit."¹⁶⁸ And yet, Weiss goes on to say, "Paul could not avoid placing limits on the all too subjective urge for liberty."¹⁶⁹ Thus Paul points these new Gentile converts back to

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 555.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 556.

¹⁶⁹Ibid.

the "tradition" which they had previously received. This Weiss understands as "the catechetical baptismal instructions of the earliest period." He avers that "there can be no doubt that already in the earliest times there were in existence similar, (to the Didache), though richer, collections of commandments which served in a measure as the basic law of the community." In Weiss' estimation Paul also harks back to these, although only "in case of need, where it is a question of a menace to the fundamentals."¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 558.

CHAPTER II

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS AND A CRITIQUE

PART 1: RECENT RESEARCH

Our current understanding of the Epistle to the Galatians is but one part or aspect of our understanding of early Christianity more generally. This was recognized by F. C. Baur as well as by most scholars since him. And thus it has been precisely our ability or inability to deal with and understand the broader or more general problems of early Christianity which has facilitated or hindered our capacity to deal with the epistle and the various specific problems which we find in it.

Although we do find occasional breaks with what we could call the 'Baur hypothesis',¹ in general at least it is fair to say that not until the second half of our century has there been anything even resembling a consensus among New Testament scholars that Baur's hypothesis is inadequate to deal with the problems which persist in our understanding of early Christianity. Only very recently has there been some considerable effort exerted to break loose from the grip exerted by Baur upon New Testament scholarship.² Corresponding

¹Most notably J. Weiss, who is discussed above, pp. 51-62 and below, pp. 65-66.

²Indicative of this development or shift in New Testament scholarship and at the same time providing some of the most powerful impetus for bringing it about is the "discovery" of Walter Bauer's Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum (Tübingen: Mohr,

to and in part prompting this new effort among New Testament scholars has been the discovery and publishing of some highly valuable texts from early Christianity³ as well as the fact that the study of the religio-historical backgrounds of the New Testament has finally begun to "shake the foundations" of New Testament scholarship in respect to its understanding of early Christianity as well as of Hellenistic Judaism. This has confronted New Testament scholarship with the necessity of reconstructing from the ground up its picture of early Christianity. There is no longer any possibility of merely touching up the old picture. It has become necessary to ask altogether new questions regarding the problems of that important era and thus to look for totally new solutions to those problems.⁴

One specific portion of that picture of early Christianity, one specific complex of problems for which we look for new solutions, relates to the Epistle to the Galatians. For this document and the historical events and circumstances surrounding it a re-evaluation

1934) which resulted in its being republished in a second edition in 1964, a full thirty years after it had originally appeared. That first edition went largely unnoticed, due in part at least to the still-lingering effect of the Baur hypothesis upon New Testament scholarship. As will be pointed out more explicitly below, it is more than coincidental that this "discovery" of Bauer has been made by a group of scholars whose point of departure is the work of the foremost New Testament scholar of the generation, Rudolf Bultmann, but who also have gone beyond Bultmann, including and especially on the issues raised and developed by Walter Bauer.

³The so-called 'Nag Hammadi' texts. Cf. J. M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," New Testament Studies, XIV (1968), 356-401.

⁴Cf. H. Koester, "ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ", Harvard Theological Review, LVIII (1965), 279-280.

and a reconstruction together with new questions are needed. As has already been suggested, from the time of F. C. Baur onward New Testament scholarship as a whole has been frozen into a fixed pattern of thought in respect to Galatians. That pattern can perhaps best be characterized as an either/or one. In Galatia as well as in early Christianity more generally the events, parties, theologies, etc., were understood to be the product of the on-going and all-pervasive confrontation between two major movements. In other words, a party or theological tenet was either Jewish (or legalistic or conservative, etc.) or Pauline (or antinomian or liberal, etc.). All of this is simply another way of saying that New Testament scholarship failed to recognize the diversification which existed in Hellenistic Judaism as well as in early Christianity. Even the scholar who in recent times has done as much as anyone else to open the reconsideration of the Epistle to the Galatians, W. Schmithals, still seems to operate within this framework of thinking.⁵

Since the Baur hypothesis had maintained that there were two movements or factions in earliest Christianity, it was possible to challenge that hypothesis from either side. Early in the second decade of our century J. Weiss took the offensive against what was then the current understanding of Pauline theology. He set out to show that this was not the totally consistent and unified "system" that Baur had maintained as part of his over-all scheme. Furthermore, and more specifically, Weiss claims that the differences which are

⁵Cf. below, pp. 79-91.

discernible in Pauline theology from one epistle to the next are not to be attributed to a "development" on the part of Paul.⁶ Although some development in Paul's theology is obvious and certainly not to be denied, to lean too heavily on this hypothesis to answer all of these problems still leaves ample room for the Baur "either-or" hypothesis to flourish. Rather, Weiss argued that these differences are due to the "occasional character" of the letters.⁷ Weiss attempts to show that the reason why Paul's theology differed from one epistle to the next was due to the changes in the situations. In other words, the epistles differed according to (among other things) the exigencies of the situations.

Later in the same decade W. Lütgert assayed to challenge the other half of the Baur hypothesis as it related to Galatians,⁸ calling for a re-examination of many key passages and assumptions drawn from them in the epistle. He argued that in Galatia there were in fact two groups of opponents. Alongside of the Judaizers there was another group--one which seems to assume for Lütgert the role of the more important or prominent of the two--the libertinistic/Gnostic (or the "πνευματικοί" as he most commonly calls them).⁹ It is

⁶Cf. above, pp. 53-54.

⁷Cf. above, p. 52.

⁸The work of Lütgert will be discussed in great detail below, pp. 72-79.

⁹Wilhelm Lütgert, Gesetz und Geist (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1919), pp. 13-14 and esp. pp. 16-17 and passim. The very title of this monograph indicates the nature of Lütgert's thesis. Although he rightly called for a new approach to the Epistle to the Galatians and himself set out to develop it, in the final analysis Lütgert did not succeed in breaking out of the either-or framework of thought, which seems to represent one of the chief short-comings of the Baur

precisely in maintaining that Paul faced " πνευματικοί " in Galatia that Lütgert comes into a head-on collision with another one of F. C. Baur's tenets, namely, that in which Baur argued that the polemics between Paul and his opponents were confined largely to chapters 1 and 2. It is not until chapter 3 that the discussion of " πνεῦμα " takes place, and for Lütgert this is not only a central question but also a polemically contested one as well. This theory of Lütgert regarding the two groups of opponents has come to be known as the "two-front hypothesis".

Looking at the over-all effect of the work of Weiss and Lütgert, however, leads to the conclusion that neither of these scholars succeeded in making an important impact, at least immediately, and the Baur hypothesis retained its dominance. Except for a few largely uninfluential scholars,¹⁰ no one seems to have taken much notice of the work (or more importantly of the implications of the work) of J. Weiss and W. Lütgert. Furthermore, although their work was original in several respects, it did not represent a total re-drawing of the picture of early Christianity. Neither man was offering answers to the questions of earliest Christianity which were

hypothesis. Lütgert's only modification of the Baur hypothesis is that in Galatia there seem to have been three factions: the legalists (Judaizers), the "spiritualizers" and Paul himself. But even this advance is perhaps more apparent than real, since in reality for Lütgert the spiritualizers are scarcely distinguishable from Paul himself. In short, they seem to be no more than ultra-Paulinists, as is argued by W. Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien," in his Paulus und die Gnostiker (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965), p. 11.

¹⁰ E. g. Ropes, Crownfield, A. Fridrichsen.

broad or comprehensive enough to bring about a break with or even to call into question the Baur hypothesis.¹¹

At this time Rudolf Bultmann, the most notable and important of the students of J. Weiss, moved into the fore-front of the ranks of New Testament scholars. This was, furthermore, precisely the time when the so-called "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule" was reaching the epitome of its influence within New Testament scholarship.¹² And so we find that the work of Bultmann, exemplified especially in his form-critical studies,¹³ applied itself most directly to a religio-historical approach to the problems of New Testament scholarship.¹⁴

¹¹One can only speculate as to why such excellent scholars as J. Weiss and W. Lütgert were able to come so close and yet fall short of succeeding in the work that had to be done. But it was due no doubt, at least in part, to the fact that the religio-historical work had not yet progressed far enough to allow it to happen.

¹²Cf. W.G. Kümmel, Das Neue Testament (München: Alber, 1970), pp. 310-357 for an overview of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule." Also R. W. Funk, in his introduction to R. Bultmann, Faith and Understanding (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 17-18.

¹³The great amount of attention which Bultmann paid to the form-critical work actually represents one of the most valuable stages of progress toward the recent attempts to rethink and reinterpret the history of early Christianity. A basic presupposition of form criticism has been that there existed many and various individual (Christian) communities which produced and preserved the various individual units of tradition. That such communities presumably had distinctive features or differences in theology when compared or contrasted to one another obviously also was a correlary of the first presupposition.

¹⁴In addition to the discussion of Bultmann's place within the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule" (cf. Ibid., pp. 337-340), Kümmel also presents other discussions of him (pp. 428-433, 449-455, 478-482, 486-488, 491-493, 512-515). It also ought to be pointed out that another major focus of Bultmann's attention, the question of hermeneutics, was also serving to prepare from another direction for the later attempts to redraw the entire picture of early Christianity. It is, of course, impossible to go into any detail here on this matter, but cf. J. M. Robinson, "Hermeneutic since Barth," in his The New Hermeneutic (New

By bringing the work of the history-of-religions scholars as well as his own very original research to bear on New Testament problems with consummate skill, Bultmann supplied the link that had previously been missing and which could bring about the reconstruction of the picture of early Christianity. However, precisely in view of his most original work and his very considerable skills in dealing with the problems of early Christianity it is difficult to understand why Bultmann himself did not succeed in--or even set out to do--the urgent task of redrawing the picture of early Christianity. Thus, although the stage was set, it still remained for others to undertake the actual step, to go beyond Bultmann and his predecessors, and to set out to resketchn the basic picture of early Christianity.¹⁵

York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 1-77, esp. 29-39, where Robinson notes that Bultmann's work on hermeneutic (demythologizing) "was the vanguard of a movement that has emerged in the new Hermeneutic" (p. 38, n. 98).

¹⁵Bultmann has devoted very little attention to several of the individual epistles of Paul, including Galatians. Although there are some (few) passages which should not be overlooked in Bultmann's works (e.g. the brief discussion of the difference between the Epistle to the Romans and its background situation and the Epistle to the Galatians and its background in his Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 108-109), he apparently paid little attention to the specific situations surrounding the individual Pauline epistles and the resulting differences within those epistles themselves. Furthermore, it was during the height of Bultmann's scholarly career that Walter Bauer's Rechtgläubigkeit appeared and failed to make any meaningful impression upon New Testament scholarship. That Bultmann was aware of and acknowledged the value of Bauer's work to reconstruct the lines of "orthodoxy and heresy" in early Christianity is pointed out by H. D. Betz, "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Primitive Christianity," Interpretation XIX (1965), 299-300. It should also be pointed out, however, that although he had set out to show the connections between Bauer and Bultmann, Betz is unable to find a great deal of material indicating many direct connections between them. Rather, the connections are through the later members

In 1954, two years before Walter Schmithals published his study of Galatians,¹⁶ another New Testament scholar had already presented a suggestive and potentially far-reaching critique of F.C. Baur's understanding of early Christianity.¹⁷ Johannes Munck set out with the assumption that (at that time) Baur still represented the dominating force in New Testament scholarship in respect to the understanding of early Christianity; this, Munck argued, was true even though Baur's literary hypothesis had long since been discarded.¹⁸ Munck deplores the state of affairs: "The immense simplification that Baur's theory brings with it by finding everywhere in all Pauline texts the same contrast between the apostle and Jewish Christianity. . . . has ever since lain like a load on the exposition of the Pauline letters."¹⁹ Rather, Munck suggests, early Christianity represented a "richly

of the "Bultmann school" to the "rediscovery" of Bauer. It has also been pointed out, however, that the situation in Germany in the mid and late 1930's was propelling the concerns and attention of Bultmann and others in another direction. (J. M. Robinson, "Basic Shifts in German Theology," Interpretation XVI (1962), 76-77). Bultmann, Theology, II, pp. 127-142 approves the thesis of Bauer.

¹⁶Cf. the discussion of Schmithals below, pp. 79-91.

¹⁷It should also be noted that in that same year, 1954, there were appearing within the Bultmann school itself the first signs of an attempt to go beyond Bultmann himself. In that year Ernst Käsemann published an essay entitled "Das Problem des historischen Jesus," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LI, (1954), 125-153, which called for a "new quest of the historical Jesus" and seems to have spelled the beginning of what some now call the "post-Bultmannian movement."

¹⁸Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 69. This monograph was reviewed by R. Bultmann, "Ein neues Paulus-Verständnis?" Theologische Literaturzeitung 84 (1959), cols. 481-486.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 70.

faceted historical reality,"²⁰ and ". . . . the letters show us different situations with different opponents."²¹

In spite of all of their suggestive and potentially far-reaching values, however, Munck does not seem to want to make any genuine attempt to capitalize on these insights. Rather, he seems to want to disprove and dislodge the Baur hypothesis from what appears to be precisely the opposite line of reasoning: Jesus, the early church and Paul were all in substantial agreement. Thus there could have been no argument or opposition between them. As has been pointed out,²² this is substantially what Baur had said. And while the end result for Munck is not the same as that for Baur, there is not one massive, ubiquitous struggle between the two parties, the "strict Jewish" and the "liberal hellenist", Munck does seem to have difficulty moving into the areas where his insights might have carried him, namely, the investigation of the full implications of the diversification within early Christianity.

Even more significant for Galatians than this, however, seems to be the fact that Munck is much more concerned with applying the coup de grace to the Baur hypothesis than with the thorough-going analysis of Galatians and of other primary sources from early Christianity. Thus in his chapter dealing with the Epistle to the Galatians, entitled, intriguingly enough, "Judaizing Gentile Christians," Munck limits himself to chapters 1 and 2. While a

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 82.

²²Cf. above, pp. 3-4.

thorough re-examination of these chapters does have value in its own right,²³ such a preoccupation does little in the final analysis to set us free from the very thing Munck most desires--the hold exerted by Baur over New Testament studies! As has already been suggested²⁴ and as will now be indicated in more detail in the discussion of the work of W. Lütgert, W. Schmithals and D. Georgi, a thorough examination of chapters 3 through 6 of Galatians is essential to a dislodging of the Baur hypothesis from its pre-eminent position in New Testament studies. Only in the study of these chapters does it become clear that the Jewishness of Paul's opponents cannot be understood in the way earlier studies going back to Baur had done.

PART 2: WILHELM LÜTGERT

Wilhelm Lütgert reopened the study of the Epistle to the Galatians for scholarship. In his monograph on the epistle, Gesetz und Geist,²⁵ he very effectively and emphatically pointed to and highlighted a number of passages which had previously been overlooked. Furthermore, he raised questions about other passages, the interpretation of which was far from settled in spite of the fact that some had made that assumption. But above all, Lütgert proposed a new solution to the over-all problem of the epistle. Although, as is pointed out above,²⁶ Lütgert's solution must ultimately be judged to

²³As is done by Georgi, cf. below pp. 91-98.

²⁴Cf. above, p. 67. ²⁵Lütgert, op. cit.

²⁶Cf. above, pp. 66-68, esp. footnotes 9 and 11.

be inadequate, his work is probably the single most important factor leading up to the present state of affairs in the research on this epistle and on the solution to its problems. Lütgert broke the log-jam which had persisted in the study of Galatians since. F.C. Baur.²⁷

The work of Lütgert, when it has been noticed at all, has been severely reproached for having advocated the so-called "two-front hypothesis." Obviously many ignore or belittle his work, presumably because of this. Nevertheless, it is this work (indeed, possibly this very hypothesis!) which still stands as the impetus which is or can be moving New Testament scholarship toward more adequate solutions to the problems of the Epistle to the Galatians.

It is true that Lütgert has in fact proposed the hypothesis that there were two groups or factions in the congregations at Galatia, the Judaizers and the Gnostics, or more accurately the "legalists and the spiritualists."²⁸ He has been rightfully criticized for this.²⁹

²⁷This is said in full knowledge of the fact that very little notice was taken of the work of Lütgert until very recently, and even then perhaps not adequately. In a monograph published ten years after the appearance of Lütgert's, James Hardy Ropes, in his The Singular Problem of the Epistle to the Galatians (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), pp. 2-3, lamented that Lütgert's work had "received too little attention." He set out to give it the "careful consideration" which it deserved. But unfortunately, as has recently been noted, Ropes was no more successful than Lütgert himself in finding acceptance for this work among exegetes (cf. W. Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLVII (1956), 25-76, revised and reprinted in his op.cit., p. 9-46, with reference here to p. 11, n. 10.

²⁸Chapter 3 of Lütgert's book is entitled "gesetzliche und geistliche Christen."

²⁹For a more extended discussion of the short-comings of his work, cf. above, p. 66. Here the intention is to accentuate the positive values to be found in it and thereby, at least implicitly, to invite a re-evaluation of it.

However, injustice has been done both to his work and more importantly to the study of the epistle when New Testament scholars have failed to look beyond the weakness of Lütgert's work into its strengths. Perhaps it is because, from a "systematic" point of view, from the perspective of his over-all solution, Lütgert's answer has not been adequate--at least superficially speaking--that many of his very important insights have not been picked up by those who have followed him.

In order to bring the positive contributions of Lütgert into clearer focus, his work will here be divided into two specific facets, his treatment of several important passages which have frequently been overlooked³⁰ and his over-all scheme.

In a general way at least, Lütgert has separated the personal attacks against Paul from the polemical attacks Paul himself makes against his opponents. On the one hand are his apologetic statements, on the other are his aggressive-polemical ones. Generally speaking, Lütgert attributes the charges made against Paul to the "radicals", the pneumatics, while the objects of Paul's reproaches are the Judaizers. One of the foremost and most important of the former is the charge that Paul "still preaches circumcision" which is found in 5:11.³¹ To judge by the interpretations found among the

³⁰Other passages, in addition to those treated here, will be discussed below in the context of the exegesis of those passages.

³¹A more extensive discussion of this passage is included in the exegesis of 5:11 below, pp. 198-212. Here it is sufficient to note that he does consider this passage important in the solution to the Galatians problem; he has even titled a sub-section of his second chapter, "Paulus predigt die Beschneidung noch."

commentators, there is no lack of passages in which Paul reproaches the Judaizers. What is especially interesting and significant about Lütgert's work, however, is not how and when he re-warms the older arguments to make them more palatable for his own time, but how and when he adds new ingredients and fresh insights toward the solution to the Galatians problem.

Especially interesting and important is Lütgert's treatment of chapter 3 of the Epistle to the Galatians. For the purpose of our summary, that treatment will be divided into two parts: his discussion of 3:1-5 and that of 3:6-29. Perhaps even more concise than Lütgert's own discussion of this latter passage is Ropes' summary of Lütgert:

If we could believe that in the whole section he is not merely opposing the judaizing tendency, but is at the same time defending his own position against attack from a different quarter and urging that his belief in the enduring significance of the Hebrew tradition. . . . is fully consistent with recognition of the absolute efficacy of faith in Christ, both aspects of the passage would be explained.³²

Equally as instructive is Lütgert's analysis of 3:1-5. He first of all notes that Paul is here polemicizing against the "opponents who want to compel the congregation to have themselves circumcised and to take over the Law." However, even in Lütgert's understanding Paul is here speaking to the entire congregation, to what he understands to be both parties, when he says: "You Galatians." He continues:

The manner in which he leads the congregation to recognize the absurdity of their apostasy sheds new light on the state of

³²Ropes, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

affairs. He confronts them with the question: through whose preaching have you received the Spirit? This is the decisive fact. How is it to be explained that Paul measures preaching by this criterion? It is not adequate to explain this measurement on the basis of his own theology. For through his question he presupposes that the readers will be brought to their senses by the recollection that they have received the Spirit through the preaching of faith. The possession of the Spirit appears here as a public fact, for the gift of the Spirit is accompanied by miracles which are to be found in the midst of the congregation. Thus Paul speaks here about the reception of the Spirit not as of an individual experience of individuals, as of a purely inner, hidden experience, but as of the experience of the congregation, which as such is a public fact. . . . When they came to faith they received the Spirit; if they now submit to the Law they will lose it again.³³

When Lütgert sees that this is a polemical passage to be explained on the basis of the concrete situation in Galatia, this is a highly important observation and should not be obscured by other less apropos observations which may accompany it. He also implies that Paul himself is a "pneumatikos" in that it was his preaching which brought the pneuma, and he recognizes the threat which Paul expresses in these verses, that by submitting to the Law the Galatians will lose the Spirit again. Finally, it should be noted that in Lütgert's understanding not only is the entire congregation being addressed, but also that the gift of the Spirit has been made to the entire congregation. This has not been the isolated experience of individuals. This quite apparently has not been divisive in any way.

The connection, then, between these two sections of chapter 3 (and bringing the entire chapter into a unified picture) is clearly

³³Lütgert, op. cit., pp. 59,60. The summary of this passage given by Ropes, op.cit., p. 35, is inadequate. Lütgert's discussion of this passage (and several others like it) seems to have been ignored in the years since 1919.

shown by Ropes:

The Law, he says, (in 3:2-5) is totally ineffective to bring salvation, and faith in Christ frees believers from any relation to the Law. But he has in mind all through, and keeps pointing out, that this Christian faith brings gentiles, though uncircumcised, into direct relation, if not to the Law, yet to the Hebrew tradition and promises of God made to Abraham; all believers, whether Jews or gentiles, are true heirs, and indeed the only true heirs, of the covenant with Abraham.³⁴

What now of the second facet of Lütgert's work, the question of his over-all scheme?³⁵ To be sure, it is necessary that we do in fact reject the way in which he has phrased his thesis, the so-called "two-front hypothesis", his postulating the existence of two separate and distinct and even mutually hostile groups.³⁶ But it is perhaps this very rejection, pushed most vigorously by Walter Schmithals, which has led to adverse results of its own.³⁷ While positing as he

³⁴Ropes, op. cit., p. 36.

³⁵The connection between Lütgert's discussion of chapter 3, especially vss. 1-5, and his over-all scheme can be seen by virtue of the fact that his treatment of 3:1-5 receives a place of emphasis at the very beginning of the chapter of Lütgert's work which brings his central thesis into clearest focus. This chapter (#3) is entitled "gesetzliche und geistliche Christen".

³⁶Even this criticism should be leveled against Lütgert only with the greatest caution, since he says: ". . . the pneumatics (mentioned in 6:1) are surely not literally a party, but they are a privileged group within the congregation. Their elevation over the congregation is connected to the split which has been observed in the congregation" (op.cit., pp. 13-14).

³⁷Schmithals takes great pains to counter both Lütgert's "two-front hypothesis" as well as his understanding of later Judaism; but he does so perhaps at the expense of the effectiveness of his own work. He seems to be almost as dedicated to disproving the "Judaizers hypothesis" (or that half of Lütgert's "two-front hypothesis!") as to supporting and clarifying his own position.

One must indeed reject the hypothesis that there were two, presumably rigidly positioned, groups, diametrically opposed to one another and vigorously combatting one another as well as Paul. But

did the existence of those two groups, Lütgert did so in such a way as actually to suggest or imply the way for the very movement beyond his own position. The title of his monograph is "Gesetz und Geist"; the heading of the third chapter of his work is "gesetzliche und geistliche Christen". Furthermore, the title of his work is not "Judaismus und Gnosis," nor is the heading of one of its chapters "judaistische und gnostische Christen". Although Lütgert of course meant that one group of "heretics" at Galatia was Judaizers and the other Gnostics, he actually viewed the situation somewhat more broadly than that, as is actually suggested by the headings. In other words, both the fact that Lütgert says "und" (and not, perhaps, "oder") and the fact that he chooses the broader common nouns, "Gesetz" and "Geist", and their corresponding adjectival forms instead of the more specific proper nouns is of great importance and should not be overlooked. There was at Galatia a confluence of "Law" and "Spirit". In the churches at this one place there were "gesetzliche" and "geistliche" Christians. Lütgert has, of course, based his position upon the evidence he has found in the Epistle to the Galatians. That he has perhaps misread or misinterpreted this evidence in seeing two separate groups, one of which represented the "gesetzlich" and the other of which the "geistlich" position,

that there was envy or dissention among the Christians in Galatia cannot be overlooked, nor can the reason for this dissention be misunderstood or misinterpreted. Even Schmithals acknowledges this state of affairs (op.cit., p. 34). Thus the crucial question is, what was the reason or basis for this in-fighting at Galatia? In commenting on Gal. 5:15 Lütgert answers: "... the content of these fights was the conflict about the Law" (op.cit., p. 9).

should not obscure the real substance of his argument, namely, that this congregation was at the same time "gesetzlich" and "geistlich".

PART 3: WALTER SCHMITHALS

In 1956 the work of Lütgert had again been brought into the center of the discussion of the Epistle to the Galatians. In that year Walter Schmithals, a student of Rudolf Bultmann, published a lengthy discussion of that epistle. He has included in his article an analysis of the preaching of the "heretics" as well as a discussion of Paul's self-defense, using as his explicit point of departure the work of Lütgert.³⁸ However, Schmithals has modified the thesis of Lütgert in one very important respect. He agreed with Lütgert that the evidence indicates that Paul was opposing some sort of "spiritualistic" or "gnostic" theology.³⁹ But he disagrees with Lütgert in respect to the so-called "two-front hypothesis".

³⁸The essay of W. Schmithals first appeared as "Die Häretiker in Galatien." It has been republished by the author in a slightly revised form in his volume Paulus und die Gnostiker, pp. 9-46. All references here are to the later edition. Schmithals originally delivered this material one year prior to its first publication. Implicitly, of course, the work of Bultmann also served as a point of departure, not only for Schmithals' study of Galatians, but also for his work on the Pauline epistles individually. That Bultmann presumably would not agree with all of his pupil's conclusions is, of course, a fore-gone conclusion. But that it was his pupil (soon to be joined by others, mostly other Bultmannians) who set out to analyze each of the Pauline epistles separately and individually indicates that Bultmann himself served (implicitly, at least) as a point of departure not only for Schmithals but for the entire re-orientation of New Testament studies in the past decade.

³⁹Schmithals, "Häretiker," pp. 11, 19-22, 25-26, 28-29, etc.

Schmithals sees no evidence of two groups opposing Paul.⁴⁰ There is only one, and that is a Jewish or Jewish-Christian gnostic group.⁴¹ In addition to that, Schmithals also recognizes the great importance of Lütgert's argument that the polemics between Paul and his opponents are not confined to chapters 1 and 2, but are to be found here and there throughout the entire epistle.⁴² However, in regard to this, it is instructive to note where Schmithals finds those polemical statements and how he understands them as well as what passages he does not understand to have polemical significance and why he understands them in the way he does.⁴³

For Walter Schmithals the heretics in Galatia were Jewish or Jewish-Christian Gnostics.⁴⁴ This is the single most basic factor in his attempt to reconstruct the situation in Galatia which led to the writing of the Epistle to the Galatians. However, before proceeding any farther it should be suggested what Schmithals is not saying about these heretics. Only then can we proceed to discover what he is saying about them.⁴⁵

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 12.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 30.

⁴²Cf. above, p. 10, n. 20, where it is pointed out that Baur had a three-fold division of the epistle, which, although paying lip service to the unity of the document, tended to divide it and to isolate the polemics to chapters 1 and 2. There seems to have been no meaningful break with that understanding until the work of Lütgert. The importance of Lütgert's insight on this matter has been mentioned above (cf. p. 67) and will be emphasized again (cf. below, p. 132).

⁴³Cf. below, pp. 83-86

⁴⁴Schmithals, op.cit., p. 25.

⁴⁵The reasons for this procedure are twofold: first, Schmithals himself takes great pains to spell out, on numerous occasions, who these opponents are not. Secondly, this seems to be a most propitious

First of all, Schmithals repeats with great emphasis that the heretics are not Judaizers,⁴⁶ and who in fact neither came from Judaea⁴⁷ nor had any relation to the 'Apostolic Council' and its agreements.⁴⁸ Secondly, it must be noticed that Schmithals consistently describes these heretics as "Gnostics". In one passage he suggests that they might have been "Jewish Gnostics"⁴⁹ while on another occasion he simply calls them "some kind of Christian Gnostics."⁵⁰ They were Jewish; they were Christian; but above all, they were Gnostics.⁵¹ He does not say that they were "gnostic Jewish-Christians." And he strenuously avoids suggesting that they were anything like "gnostic (or gnosticizing) Christian Judaizers."⁵² No

way of bringing into focus what it is that Schmithals is in fact saying.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 16-18, 22-25 and passim. By 'Judaizers' it seems that it can safely be assumed that Schmithals means approximately what F. C. Baur meant (cf. above, pp. 5-20): "representatives of Pharisaic-legalistic Christianity." (p. 11). At the very beginning of his article he states his objective: to challenge the presupposition that these heretics were "Christians in whose opinion membership in the eschatological congregation of the Messiah. . . Jesus is dependent upon membership. . . in the association of the old covenant people."

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid. He adds that they had brought to their preaching certain motifs which represent a continuation of pre-Christian Jewish Gnosis (p. 26, n. 71).

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 22.

⁵¹Very rarely does Schmithals use anything but the noun form "Gnosis" (as compared especially to the adjectival form, "gnostic") when referring directly to the heretics.

⁵²Schmithals seems to want to put as much distance as possible between these (Jewish-Christian) Gnostics and Judaism, at least what has heretofore been understood by the term "Judaizers." (Cf. pp. 27-29, also p. 21 where the "gnostic" apostolate is contrasted to the "Jewish" concept of the same.)

such thing! Furthermore, in contrast to Lütgert, they also were not legalistic-gnostic Christians either.⁵³

On the positive side and following the sequence of the epistle itself, Schmithals' view of the Galatian heretics can be summarized as follows: "The first two chapters of Galatians and the verse just discussed (6:6) are excellently understood if Paul turns against some kind of Christian Gnostics, who--as in Corinth--want to eliminate his influence; for that reason they contest his apostolate."⁵⁴ More specifically, a key passage is 1:11-12, which is understood apologetically, not as an aggressive-polemical statement.⁵⁵ The heretics have received their Gospel through a revelation. In 1:12 Paul is saying, "I also have received my Gospel, not from men, but--like the opponents--through a revelation of Jesus Christ."⁵⁶ This claim, argues Schmithals, "is genuinely gnostic. The gnostic apostle understands himself not through a chain of tradition, through the apostolic succession, but through direct spiritual call. . . . The gnostic apostle is called directly by God. He then proves himself. . . . through the ecstatic attestation of the pneuma-self."⁵⁷

⁵³Not once does Schmithals say--or even want to allow the suggestion or implication to appear--that these heretics might have been legalists ("gesetzlich"). He seems to restrict their dependence upon the Law almost exclusively to the cultic (circumcision especially), and he even shows how gnostic circumcision differs from the Jewish. Thus whether he sees any role for the (Jewish) Law at all is perhaps problematical.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 20. Schmithals adds: ". . . in Corinth as in Galatia the question about the content of the Pauline preaching, therefore about the truth of his Gospel, was decided through the question about his apostolate. Even that is as typically and originally gnostic as

The middle chapters of the epistle hold very little which sheds more light on the situation at Galatia, according to Schmithals. For him 3:1-5 is essentially an attempt by Paul to meet the claims of his opponents.⁵⁸ In other words, he seems to imply that this also is an apologetic rather than an aggressive-polemical statement. The sections 3:6-14, 3:15-18, 3:19-4:7 and 4:21-31 add to our understanding of the situation in Galatia only in the sense that they reveal that "someone there in some manner holds to the Law."⁵⁹ The sections 4:8-11 and 4:12-20 do cast light on the situation, the former upon the syncretistic nature of some of the doctrines of the opponents, the latter because it shows that Paul has obviously been accused of being "only a sarkikos."⁶⁰ The section 4:8-11 is to be explained, not in the light of "main-line" or rabbinic Judaism, but on the

it is unjewish and therefore unjudaistic" (p. 21).

⁵⁸Schmithals says that thus. . . "Gal. 3:2 is also to be understood. . . This sentence gains its entire weight only when he goes over to the emphasized assertion of the Galatians, that they had (received) the Spirit. The 'πνεῦμα λαμβάνειν', which presumably comes from the language of the mystery cults, we meet again in Paul at 2 Cor. 11:4, and there in what is unquestionably the taking up of a gnostic thesis. Likewise in Gal. 3:5 Paul enters into the actual assertion of the Galatians, that they had the 'Spirit' and 'mighty works' had occurred among them. . . ." (Ibid., p. 32).

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 29. He adds that these sections "contain familiar Topoi of the debate of Paul with the Jews about the question of the Law. . . . None of these sections is penned (specifically) for the Epistle to the Galatians. . . . None of these sections is intended in the framework of the Pauline argumentation to say any more than: The Law can no longer claim any sort of value for believers."

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 35. Schmithals also argues that "in the eyes of the Galatian heretics, Paul is so far from being a pneumatikos that he surely must have received his gospel from other men. . ." (p. 34).

basis of apocalyptic and gnostic texts.⁶¹

Schmithals further elaborates upon the role of chapters 3 and 4 in the Galatian discussion by clarifying what they actually do--and do not!--say. He rejects what many have claimed to have seen in these chapters, namely, Paul's refutation of the opponents' preaching the Law as a way of salvation. They preached no such thing, he argues. But, then, what of chapter 3 and 4? Why does Paul discuss the issue of the righteousness of works vs. that of faith? Schmithals answers as follows:

But neither was Paul the victim of misunderstanding when in Gal. 3-4 he polemicizes in detail against the way of the Law as a way of salvation. Paul knows thoroughly that the Galatian heretics demand circumcision without desiring to keep the Law (Gal. 6:13). Therefore Paul himself must bring to the attention of the congregation the consequences which the assuming of circumcision brings with it. The theological reflection of Paul in Gal. 3:1-5:12 about the righteousness of works and the righteousness of faith. . . . therefore is not thus to mean that anyone in Galatia knowingly wanted to go the way of pure Law-righteousness. . . .⁶²

While maintaining that this middle section of the epistle contains scarcely any direct reference to the actual situation in Galatia, Schmithals argues that it does witness to the fact that for Paul taking on of circumcision can have no other meaning than that it is an attempt to achieve righteousness through works without faith.⁶³

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 30-31. Cf. also below, pp. 90-91.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 28-29, where he also avers that "only isolated in the Jewish-gnostic circles does a radical criticism of the Law appear to have been carried forward, as the argumentation of Paul in Gal. 3:6-29 implies" (p. 26, n. 71).

⁶³Ibid., p. 29. Schmithals argues that an exegesis of 3:1-5:12 would show that "all passages in this nucleus of the epistle in which the situation in Galatia is not directly addressed contain familiar

This is what circumcision in Galatia must mean, even for the Galatians, coram Deo, no matter whether they know it or not (Gal. 5:3), whether they exert themselves over the fulfilling of the Law or--incomprehensively--neglect it in spite of undergoing circumcision (Gal. 6:13).⁶⁴

For Schmithals chapters 5 and 6 contain a number of important reflections upon the Galatians situation. In 5:1 and 5:13 we see the πνευματικοί are at the same time ἐλεύθεροι. For Schmithals that means that they "are freed from the σάρξ and all ethical regulations related to it." It is "not certain, but surely very probable" that Paul is consciously harking back to assertions by the Galatian Gnostics when in 5:1 and 13 he maintains: "For freedom Christ has freed you. . . . for you are called to freedom." The support for this is to be found in the fact that Paul every time must proceed with the admonition: "Stand now and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery. . . . just so that you do not use your freedom as an occasion to serve the flesh."⁶⁵ In order to further clarify and

Topoi of Paul's debate with the Jews about the question of the Law, in which in a general way it is proved that and why the Law has lost its value since Christ for believers."

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 29.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 36, to which he adds the following note: "In both passages the emphasis unmistakably lies on the concluding sentence so that Paul is not instructing about freedom, summoning to freedom, but combatting the misuse of freedom." In a footnote he also observes that Lütgert uses 5:13 as one of the passages "of greatest weight for proof of his thesis of two fronts in Galatia." But Schmithals sees Lütgert's argument sinking because of the fact that "5:1 and 5:13 can not be understood as directed against different pneumatics, as he desires. The same preachers of freedom, who stand in danger of misusing their freedom ethically (5:13), impose the yoke of slavery of circumcision (5:1)." (Ibid., note 109).

substantiate his position Schmithals adds:

It is sufficiently clear that someone in Galatia actually preaches circumcision, but in fact thinks and lives liberistically rather than legalistically. Against the conduct κατὰ σάρκα Paul must emphatically and at length take a stand, even if not always very specifically. . . . How extensively the ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, which Paul enumerates in 5:19ff., concretely refer to the situation in Galatia is of course difficult to say.

He concludes that "each of these vices and virtues⁶⁶ thus fits very well into the situation which we have pictured in Galatia, which does not hold true under the presupposition of Judaistic opposition to Paul."⁶⁷

The question of circumcision, because it is central in the epistle, is central in the study of Schmithals. This seems to be the practice which most readily characterizes the heretics in Galatia. And the explanation of this practice and its significance in Galatia seems to be the thing which most clearly characterizes the work of Schmithals. We can catch sight of this in his comments on Gal. 5:11.

. . . it must be concluded that someone in Galatia had asserted of Paul that even his preaching included circumcision. . . . The remark of Paul becomes understandable if in Galatia reference has been made to the fact that also Paul could approve circumcision for tactical reasons, since he himself had possibly performed it on Timothy (Acts 16:3); in any case he had conceded it to the Jewish-Christians (Gal. 2:1-10) and in other legal ceremonies he could become 'a Jew to the Jews' (1 Cor. 9:20ff., cf. e.g. Acts 21:15-26). But such references to the conduct of Paul is meaningful only if in Galatia circumcision is valued similarly to the way he values it, and it is not viewed as the start of a way of salvation determined by the Law.⁶⁸

⁶⁶The ones listed, of course, in 5:19ff. and 5:22-23, which he has just discussed, Ibid., pp. 36-37.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 37.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 28.

This gives insight into what for Schmithals is the nature of the circumcision practiced in Galatia. "The bases for circumcision within Gnosis are of course, different from those within Judaism. Gnostic circumcision could never bind anyone to the Law. Also in Galatia this had not been done. . . ."69

For Schmithals the Law in Galatia apparently consisted primarily if not exclusively in cultic observances.⁷⁰ He entertains little or no discussion of the Law apart from circumcision. However, in one noteworthy passage he remarks: "The Galatians walk under the Laws (of Gnosis), and they are essentially different Laws than those of Judaism. They are the Law of the πνευματικοί, for whom not the bodily discipline but the ecstatic discipline is characteristic"⁷¹

This, then, leads Schmithals to his next point of discussion: ". . . apparently in Galatia they designate themselves as ' πνευματικοί ' with emphasis."⁷² This he observes with reference to Gal. 6:1. He then adds that "for the Gnostic, pneuma-possession and self-praise are firmly associated." This, he says, has led from 5:26 to 6:1 and then to "the determined warning of the apostle: 'if someone thinks he is something, although he is nothing, he deceives

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 27. This Schmithals had already described in his argument that Paul's opponents were not Judaizers: "If Judaizers command circumcision of the heathen Christians in Galatia, then they thereby place this under the whole Jewish Law and demand its observance by them. But now that obviously so little occurred in Galatia that. . . Paul himself must make the congregation aware of the consequences. . . (Gal. 5:3). . . No wonder! Paul must still assert that the circumcised themselves νόμον οὐ φυλάσσουσιν (6:13), and that apparently means a basic renunciation of the Law." (Ibid., pp. 22-23).

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 27.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 32.

⁷²Ibid.

himself' (Gal. 6:3)." This, in turn, points back to 5:26, where we see that "instead of them 'walking in the Spirit', Paul asserts that the pneumatics in Galatia are ' κενόδοξοι ', with completely unfounded passion for glory, spurring each other with their pneumatic-ecstatic endowments (ἀλλήλους προκαλούμενοι) and thereby of course also awaking envy among those with inferior spiritual endowments (ἀλλήλους φθονοῦντες , cf. 1 Cor. 12:4ff.)"⁷³

From here Schmithals turns to a discussion of the expression "to ridicule God (μωκτηρίζειν)" (Gal. 6:7). This does not consist, as some have argued, in "basic human disobedience". This cannot be, since "Paul never otherwise characterizes this as ridicule of God." Rather, ridiculing God consists in "the fact that there are some in Galatia who consciously emphasize the possession of the divine Spirit, and for that reason consider themselves perfected Christians and openly praise themselves for their piety (Gal. 5:26, 6:3)." This is the one half of what Schmithals understands by the term " μωκτηρίζειν ". He then continues: "but at the same time they sow to the σάρξ , and do so that much more consciously and emphatically." It was this combination of pneumatic self-praise and libertinism which constitutes the "mocking" of God. "It must appear to Paul as a ridicule of God when someone under appeal to the Spirit of God acts in a fleshly manner. Such conduct of the Galatians, which makes God into a servant of sin, caricatures God. Only thus," says Schmithals, "does the μωκτηρίζειν acquire its concrete meaning."⁷⁴

⁷³Ibid., pp. 33-34.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 38.

From this also springs the envy, dissention and boasting among the Galatian Christians. Circumcision alone would not have brought this about, Schmithals argues. But on the other hand, "Gnostic pneumatics are excellently described by the characterization in Gal. 5:26. For them the (for Paul 'empty') boasting is therefore in place, because they 'preach' themselves, i.e. their pneuma-self (2 Cor. 4:5, 10:12)."⁷⁵

All of this Schmithals can, in effect, neatly summarize under his interpretation of the circumcision being practiced by these Gnostics. On the one hand, the flesh, symbolized by the foreskin, is shed. The implication of this, according to Schmithals, is that the circumcised may then indulge in libertine conduct. On the other hand, the pneuma-self is freed from the prison of the body. This can be a source of boasting, which in turn leads to the dissention.⁷⁶

By now it should be unmistakably clear that Schmithals has succeeded in making very real progress in the study of the Epistle to the Galatians. In spite of this progress, however, Schmithals seems still to be mired in the old procrustean bed which conceives of early Christianity as having only two real theological positions or groups.⁷⁷ In other words, he has not set himself free from

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 34.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 27f.

⁷⁷It seems as though one must conclude that Schmithals, like F.C. Baur, sees a massive struggle taking place in early Christianity between Paul and an ubiquitous group of opponents. The difference between Baur and Schmithals seems to be only in the identification of that group of opponents. For Baur they were Judaizers, for Schmithals they are Gnostics who appear in Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica and

thinking of or describing this period of early Christianity in the categories of "either/or". He does not seem to give any indication that he would agree to the proposition that early Christianity had a great deal of diversification.⁷⁸

Perhaps it can be said in evaluation of the work of Walter Schmithals that his greatest contribution is at the same time his greatest liability. On the one hand, as a result of the work of Schmithals, the characteristics of the Galatian "Judaizers", the nature of their preaching and theology can no longer simply be assumed to be that which Baur and others did in fact assume it to be, namely, a kind of proto-rabbinic Judaism.⁷⁹ However, this very same determination to cast the Galatian opponents in a new light, distinct from the old notion of "Judaism", is apparently also the thing which carries Schmithals into the area of his greatest difficulty, namely, his "denial of the central role of the Law in the thought of the Galatian opponents."⁸⁰ Schmithals does indeed maintain that the

elsewhere.

⁷⁸The titles of Schmithals' works dealing with the struggles Paul was facing in the various congregations are revealing: "Die Gnosis in Korinth" (dealing with both First and Second Corinthians) and "Paulus und die Gnostiker."

⁷⁹Helmut Koester, "Häretiker im Urchristentum," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart III, 17-21, has more recently also emphasized that these Galatian opponents cannot be understood on the basis of rabbinic sources or against the background of rabbinic Judaism.

By his amassing of background materials from non-rabbinic Jewish and Christian literature Schmithals has shown that these sources offer parallels to some of the statements in Galatians which are at least as valid as those background materials which others draw from rabbinic sources.

⁸⁰This is the complaint made by Koester, "ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΑΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ" p. 307, n. 87.

Law played a role for the Galatian heretics. Furthermore, he has perhaps correctly argued that for them the Law consisted primarily, if not exclusively, in its cultic aspects. However, Schmithals' understanding of the Law of the Galatian heretics ("essentially different from that of Judaism"⁸¹) must be deemed, at best, inadequate. Furthermore, and perhaps even more indicative of the short-comings of the work of Schmithals is the place of the Law in the total theological understanding of the opponents at Galatia as Schmithals describes it. The lengthy discussions of Abraham and "the sons of Abraham" in Gal. 3 and 4 play no role at all in Schmithals' reconstruction of the opponents' theology or self-understanding. It is most significant that for Schmithals 3:6-4:7 and 4:21-31 contain only "familiar Topoi of the debate of Paul with the Jews about the question of the Law. . . . None of these sections is penned (specifically) for the Epistle to the Galatians."⁸² This, as we shall see, is also a shortcoming of the work of Dieter Georgi.

PART 4: DIETER GEORGI

The most recent attempt to reconstruct the theological position and teaching of Paul's opponents in Galatia in a more or less comprehensive way has been made by Dieter Georgi.⁸³ Georgi's work

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Cf. above, p. 83, n. 59.

⁸³Georgi's first contribution toward the solution of this problem came as early as 1959 when he supplied the "Einwände" and the "Exegetische Anmerkungen" to a volume entitled Christusbekenntnis im Atomzeitalter? (München: Kaiser, 1959). His second, and somewhat more detailed contribution came in his study on the collection: Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem (Hamburg-Bergstedt:

is distinguished from that of most of his more recent predecessors by more than a fresh evaluation of the passages and statements relating to the heretics' theological position, important as that surely is. However, Georgi has also attempted to find a way through the maze which we find in chapters 1 and 2 to establish a (greater) degree of clarity with regard to events and developments recorded there. Paul apparently desires to give his account of those events and developments in these chapters, presumably because they had become known in Galatia and apparently in what Paul considered to be a distorted way. Our task is complicated by virtue of the fact that these chapters contain numerous problems of a grammatical or text-critical nature.

Without going into all of the details of Georgi's arguments and reasoning in chapters 1 and 2, several of the most important discoveries which he has made will be mentioned here. First of all, there is no reason to assume, argues Georgi, that there is any "tendentious distortion" in the report given by Paul, and that for several reasons: the things that happened at that time even now still have decisive significance for Paul; the report itself shows clearly the tension between the effort Paul is making to report in a way that is historically precise and the endeavor to make it current (especially visible in the anakolutha in 2:4, 6, 8, 10);

Reich, 1965). It should also be pointed out that Helmut Koester has made contributions to the discussion of the Epistle to the Galatians (in the articles cited above, pp. 90f, notes 79 and 80.

it cannot be proved that Paul suppressed or even only forgot anything essential.⁸⁴

Secondly, Georgi has argued that "the occasion for the proceedings" which brought Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem and precipitated the conference there "was a wide-spread church intrigue, which had already previously been set into motion in the Gentile-Christian congregation of Antioch and vicinity and had its beginning in the Jewish-Christian sector, perhaps even in Jerusalem itself."⁸⁵

Finally, Georgi has argued that "in Jerusalem partners confronted one another, not superior and inferior, head and subject. Together they were wrestling for a crucial decision." It was not that a report was to be given and then authoritative opinions or "verdicts"

⁸⁴Georgi, Die Geschichte, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 15. Georgi argues that "from the aggressive formulation of Gal. 2:4 one can gather. . . that Paul and Barnabas clashed with these people right in Jerusalem and likewise later also encountered similar heretics." By way of further describing these "false brethren" Georgi says that they were "Judaistic fanatics," who "had apparently gone into the Gentile-Christian congregations and there had 'spied'." He then adds: "This is my opinion: they had studied what character and what effect the freedom from the Law had had in the Gentile-Christian congregations. The intention of these studies was by no means friendly to the Gentile-Christians. . . . With the collected material it was supposed to be documented black on white for the Palestinian and especially for the Jerusalem Jewish-Christians that the way in which the Gentile-Christians taught and lived their freedom from the Law was irreconcilable with the Christian faith. The Jewish-Christians were probably supposed to have been brought to the point where either they demand that Gentile-Christians submit to circumcision and the Law or that they renounce church fellowship with them." The outcome of all of this then was the conference in Jerusalem, because "if the Gentile-Christians did not concern themselves with these intrigues. . . . they ran the risk that the Jewish-Christians would eventually be taken in by that. . . ." (Ibid., pp. 15-16).

handed down. "The presentation of the Antiochenes much rather took place with the objective in mind of confronting the Jerusalemites most forthrightly with the question of whether perhaps such preaching was not for the building and preserving of the church. . . . the entire Christian church."⁸⁶

As has already been mentioned, Georgi's argument presupposes that the proceedings of the Jerusalem meeting were known, especially in Galatia, and that they were still of importance, precisely in the situation which had arisen in Galatia. Thus he says: "Then Paul here desires to say: a special injunction which enlarges the first one negotiated and concluded in Jerusalem truly exists, yet it has only later arisen and that without my consent. . . ."⁸⁷ Georgi then develops his interpretation of what he understands to be the connection between the present situation at Galatia which prompted the writing of the epistle and those past events:

By the parenthesis in Gal. 2:6 we are to understand most simply that Paul, through the mention of 'those who are of repute', sees himself compelled to bring in a polemical corrective to the views of his opponents about precisely these authorities in Jerusalem. . . . The leaders of the Jerusalem congregation possessed at that time as also today no priority.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 17, 18 and on p. 19 Georgi notes that "the settlement and content of the agreement presuppose equal partners. Precisely in the agreement itself the Jerusalem dignitaries very obviously are an equal party. . . ."

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 20. In this light Georgi reads Gal. 2:6 when he says: "At the same time he also let it be known that in reality he was the only one, at least the only one of the former members of the Antioch congregation, who still stood on the Jerusalem agreement--that is what the emphasized 'to me' in Gal. 2:6 is able to clarify."

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 20-21. He also agrees with H. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1962) who says

On the basis of this analysis of the events and developments visible to us through chapters 1 and 2, Georgi has also reconstructed a characterization of Paul's Galatian opponents: They were pneumatics; they were nominalists; they were precursors of a Gnosis, much like that which is combatted later in the Epistle to the Colossians and by Ignatius. More specifically, they had made the Law into a speculative wisdom with a cosmological and soteriological aspect.⁸⁹ All Christian elements served as final expansions of a

that 2:6 is also Paul's rejection of any qualifications which the Jerusalem authorities might have as a result of their former association with the earthly Jesus. Georgi also notes that the discussion of God's impartiality is to be found in Deut. 10:17, 2 Chron. 19:7, Sirach 35(32):13, Jub. 5:16. This implies that God is not concerned about human qualifications, which means first of all impartiality over against human priorities but also means God's judging activity. Precisely this basis for the establishment of the act of justification, as a counter-balance to God's electing and calling (p. 20, n.40).

⁸⁹Georgi also claims (*Ibid.*, p. 38, n. 120) an affinity between the Galatian heretics and those combatted in 1 Cor. Both Lütgert and Schmithals, who both frequently interpret Galatians in the light of 1 Cor., have hit upon something correct at this point. Each is a speculative soteriology strongly worked in with cosmological thoughts. However, Georgi also cautions that "yet the two heresies cannot be identified. The differences are too great. The most essential is the behavior toward the Law." (p. 38, n. 120). For a discussion which is perhaps relevant here, even if only somewhat peripherally, one ought to take note of J. M. Robinson's review article of Eberhard Jüngel's book, Paulus und Jesus: "The New Hermeneutic at Work," Interpretation XVIII (1964), 346-359. There (pp. 347-349) we find Robinson delving into methodological questions involved in Jüngel's endeavor to "show that justification by faith is not a peripheral, ad hoc doctrine of Paul but rather the center of his theology" (p. 347). The terminology which is actually found in 1 Cor. is not that of "justification by faith", although there is "material agreement" between that epistle and Romans where this terminology is in fact to be found. One could perhaps ask much the same question about Galatians, where justification by faith is also to be found, and then proceed to ask the further question as to whether there can be as much affinity between 1 Cor. and Galatians as Georgi claims if the terminology on this central theological point is different. For more discussion on possible "affinity" between these two epistles,

Jewish syncretism already enriched with heathen motifs.⁹⁰ In their opinion the Law actually did stem from the angels,⁹¹ from the powers which move creation and fate.⁹² So for them Law and the order of creation, Law and fate were one.⁹³ The goal of these heretics was pneumatic perfection; their means for reaching this goal was nomistic practice and the sacraments (baptism and circumcision) probably understood as mystery actions.⁹⁴ Jerusalem was probably honored as the hold center of the Christian mysteries, the Jerusalem apostles as guardians of the mysteries.⁹⁵ In their opinion the Law was given through the hand of a mediator: Moses, of course (3:19), who could mediate with the highest transcendent divine powers and who for him

cf. below p. 147, n. 44.

⁹⁰Georgi, Einwände, p. 111: they had bound together "in an imposing way Jewish-Christian revelation and heathen ancestry. . . . For these Jewish-Christians the Law was not only that of their people, but that of the world generally."

⁹¹Ibid.: ("the single and very cryptic expression in Paul in 3:19c is probably best explained as an assertion picked up polemically, which the opponents had understood positively".)

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Georgi, Die Geschichte, p. 35. Georgi also asserts that "the Law helped him who trusted in it to Spirit-possession (3:2f.) in freedom from the world, and in the always independently occurring development of one's own religiosity" (Georgi, Einwände, p. 111).

⁹⁵Georgi, Die Geschichte, pp. 35-36. The basis for this is to be found in 4:22ff., of which Georgi remarks: "In the debate with the Galatian heretics Paul even goes so far as to equate the place of Jerusalem with the slave Hagar and to designate it as the place of servitude. Here then the heavenly Jerusalem is the radical opposite of the earthly. The heavenly Jerusalem is conceived of as a totally transcendent quantity. The best parallels for this crass antithesis are to be found in later Gnosis" (p. 35).

who confided himself to him could bring into language the unspeakable, the plainly transcendent, the powers hidden behind the Law which remained hostile to the uninitiated (3:20 is directed against this).⁹⁶ Then, too, the Law itself also played a mediating role, helping him who entrusted himself to it to Spirit-possession (3:2f.). For the opponents there was no doubt also a concept of faith. The ironic question of Paul in 3:3 points to the fact that for them faith stood in this framework of this development of thought and so was something like a deepened knowledge of the Law, which finally made possible the completion of the way to the divine forces; it became a private religiosity in the truest sense of the word.⁹⁷

This heresy also included a christology. For them Christ was the conclusive revelation and exposition of the Law and of the forces standing behind it, the end of a long development, or better: was its last landmark. This is the context in which Georgi interprets the expression "the Law of Christ" (6:2). For Georgi this is a surprising and probably polemically-seized remark.⁹⁸

In all of this they also made various accusations against Paul, various criticisms of his preaching or theology. Thus Georgi argues that for them the preaching of the authority of the crucified

⁹⁶Georgi, Einwände, p. 111.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 112. Cf. also "the sarcastic use of 'convert' in 4:9 and the self-designation πνευματικοί in 6:1."

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 111. For Georgi the debate about revelation-history (3:6ff. and 4:1ff.) and the sharp antithesis in 4:22ff. (ironically introduced in 4:21) are to be understood in this context as well.

as of the cursed (6:14, 3:13) was an offensive narrow-mindedness which one must counteract (1:6, 3:1ff., 4:17ff, 5:11ff., 6:12ff.). The preaching of justification by faith must have appeared to them like an invitation to lawlessness (cf. in addition to the passages just mentioned also 5:1ff., 5:7ff.). But, on the other hand, they had no meaning for the 'bourgeois morality' of Paul (5:13ff., 5:26ff., 6:1ff., 6:13 mirror their peculiar individualistic and probably ascetic fulfilling of the Law). The independence of the Pauline mission appeared to them as a disastrous free-bootery (cf. chapters 1-2).⁹⁹ Finally, their dependence upon the Jewish tradition must have been coupled with accusations against Paul. These accusations were not of dependence upon Jerusalem, but precisely with contempt for the tradition. And this, in turn, according to the heretical understanding, was synonymous with lack of possession of the Spirit and therewith a falling short of the apostolic rank.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁰⁰In contrast to Schmithasl (op.cit., p. 31ff.), Georgi reads 1:11f not as an apologetic but as an aggressive-polemical statement. Furthermore, he maintains that Paul does in fact delimit the (true) Gospel not only from the Law but also from tradition--even from Christian tradition. For Paul tradition and Law amount to the same thing (Georgi, Die Geschichte, p. 36, n. 113). Cf. also above, p. 94 esp. n. 88.

PART 5: A CRITIQUE AND OTHER SUGGESTIONS¹⁰¹

It is now obvious that the state of affairs in the study of Galatians is far different today as compared to what it was under the domination of F. C. Baur. And while there is obviously also a very wide divergence between the positions represented by the three men most responsible for bringing about the current state of affairs, there are some things which Lütgert, Schmithals and Georgi have in common which simultaneously distinguish them from the Baur position. According to these scholars there is going on at Galatia heretical activity and preaching which all three have viewed as being characterized both by certain "pneumatic" features as well as by elements which are in fact somehow related to Judaism.¹⁰²

The chief questions now before us are: what precisely (as precisely as can be ascertained!) were the heretical tendencies which can be discovered at Galatia and what was their significance? Furthermore, in what way can these features or tendencies be integrated into a reasonably unified picture of these people who opposed Paul

¹⁰¹The procedure to be followed in this section will be to present a schematic over-view toward a solution to the problem of the Epistle to the Galatians. Only occasionally will direct reference to the work of the scholars previously discussed (Lütgert, Schmithals, and Georgi) be made. Even where their position is perhaps under debate, references will only be occasional, and then only to the foregoing pages, except when something not adequately covered there is being added here.

¹⁰²No further discussion will be carried on here about whether the "two-front" aspect of Lütgert's hypothesis is only superficial or whether it is deeply essential to his work.

(and who perhaps even succeeded in wresting the Galatian congregations from the impact of his influence)?¹⁰³ And thus in the light of the severity of this threat and its apparent eventual success, how is this picture of what is transpiring at Galatia to be fitted into the whole broader landscape of the history of early Christianity? Finally, how and in what ways and to what extent is their theology to be distinguished from Paul's own?¹⁰⁴

For Walter Schmithals these heretics were Gnostics (not proto-gnostic or gnosticizing). Every characteristic, even those which have been assumed to be Jewish and including those which he himself concedes are Jewish, is interpreted in this light. For Dieter Georgi, on the other hand, we see an altogether different emphasis. Not only are the heretics only "precursors" of a Gnosis, not only are their "Jewish" characteristics more significantly obvious to him, but also and most especially nothing is taken for granted when the terms "gnostic" or "Jewish" are used.¹⁰⁵ In the work of Georgi

¹⁰³This is suggested by Bauer, *op.cit.*, p. 235 and quoted at length by Robinson, "Basic Shifts in German Theology," pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁴The problematic involved in this is well stated by Bauer, *op.cit.*, pp. 235-236 and by J. M. Robinson, "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," in J. P. Hyatt (ed.) *The Bible in Modern Scholarship* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 119-120 and esp. 121-125. This is at one and the same time the ultimate goal and the most difficult task.

¹⁰⁵After all is said and done, the most significant difference between the work of Schmithals and that of Georgi is one of methodology. Schmithals' work is replete with the terms "Jewish" and "gnostic", whereas Georgi uses these terms only very sparingly. Even Lütgert seems to move cautiously in employing them. Koester, "ΤΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ", pp. 28-281, has questioned the value--indeed, the validity!--of using these and similar terms at all. Koester himself in his article "Häretiker im Urchristentum," III, Sp. 17-21, not once employs

one is confronted by a discussion of the text(s) which are actually in the epistle without the apparently over-powering inclination to force the text into some sort of pre-conceived pattern or mold.¹⁰⁶

In view of the objective of this study, namely, to cast light on the expression "the Law of Christ", one must now ask what the christology of these Galatian heretics might have been. In view of Georgi's suggestions we ask, was it a christology extrapolated from their wisdom speculation, much like it is found in 1 Corinthians?¹⁰⁷ Or, following up on another suggestion of Georgi, was their christology one that emphasized the life (and/or teaching) and the authority of (the earthly) Jesus, with whom to have associated bestowed the apostolic rank?

Apparently Georgi not only makes such suggestions, diverse and somewhat contradictory as they might seem to be, but he seems also to find it possible to reconcile these two rather diverse christological tendencies into a unified picture of these heretics. This can be seen from his description of their self-understanding, which, of course, would have corresponded to their christology. Keeping the Law (as they understood it) brought Spirit-possession.

the term "gnostic" in his brief description of the Galatian heretics.

¹⁰⁶This is not to say that one need accept any or all specific points in Georgi's reconstruction, or for that matter even his central thesis. For a critical discussion of Schmithals' methodology, cf. Robinson, "Basic Shifts," pp. 79-81.

¹⁰⁷A brief summary of the christology of the (1) Corinthian heretics is given by Robinson, *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

Thence also came their criticism of Paul, at least part of it: he did not advocate keeping the Law--he did not even reverence the traditions, either Jewish or Christian--and he did not possess the Spirit.

But is this picture drawn for us by Georgi completely accurate and adequate? Are all pertinent passages and is all relevant evidence being taken into consideration? Is the interpretation being placed upon the texts under consideration the only or the best one?

That these heretics revered the traditions and utilized them in their total scheme of things fits very well with the evidence. And that they had also accused Paul with contempt for the traditions in view of his rejection of the Law and of the priority of the Jerusalem apostles is also tenable. But that this was in fact Paul's position does not accord well with the evidence. As Gal. 3:6-29 shows, this debate is not, as Georgi has argued, one in which adherents to the tradition (the heretics) are pitted against an opponent of the tradition (Paul). Rather, it is a question of whose understanding of the tradition is the correct one. It is one understanding of tradition vs. another understanding of it.¹⁰⁸ Even if

¹⁰⁸In an article published more than 40 years ago Rudolf Bultmann has dealt with Paul's understanding of "church and teaching": "Church and Teaching in the New Testament," in his Faith and Understanding, (New York: Harper and Row, 1969) pp. 184-219. For our purposes here we will confine ourselves to his remarks as they relate directly to the text of Galatians, especially chapters 3 - 4. That is not to say, however, that other parts of this article and other essays contained in this volume do not have bearing--sometimes even rather direct--on the discussion taking place currently over the understanding of Paul and his theology and his place in the history of early Christianity. Indeed, these very essays furnish us with

Paul had in the past perhaps given reason for some to (mis)construe his position as being one of rejection of the tradition(s), he leaves

some of the deepest insight into Bultmann's own distinctive position within the history of New Testament scholarship and help to pinpoint his place in the current debate. Robinson, "Basic Shifts," pp. 76-97 has charted the course of developments which have led up to the current debate, especially within the "Bultmannian school". Although it is now almost a decade old, this article is still of great value. The work of Bultmann in the 1920's and 1930's has been set into the background and context of those times by J. M. Robinson in the "Introduction" to his The Beginning of Dialectic Theology (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1968), I, 9-30 and by R. W. Funk in his "Introduction" to Bultmann, Faith and Understanding, pp. 9-27.

Bultmann's study of "church" and "tradition", supplied here with emphasis on the Galatians passages, can be summarized as follows: Paul's understanding (=for Bultmann that of Hellenistic Christianity more generally) of the 'church' has three elements: it is (1) a cultic, (2) eschatological, (3) community determined by history (p. 197). That it is a cultic assembly in which the Lord is present is proven by the Spirit and the gifts of grace (charismata). Because it is such a community, the 'church' is also the eschatological community, for 'holy' is an eschatological as well as a cultic predicate. As the community of the 'end time', as the messianic community, it has the 'Spirit', the gift expected at the end. That this community is determined by history can be seen from the fact that it is called by the prophecies of the Old Testament; it is the Israel of God (Gal. 6:16). The history of Israel is its history; Abraham is its father (Gal. 3:7-29). The community is thus bound to the Old Testament history and takes over the Old Testament tradition. (The efforts of Paul to preserve the unity of the Gentile Christian communities with the Jerusalem church are special evidence of this concern. And as the culmination of the old acts of salvation, the new last decisive act has been achieved. 'In the fullness of time, God sent his son' (Gal. 4:4). The sending, his obedience even to the cross, is the event, crowned by the resurrection, through which the new community is founded (pp. 196-197).

Bultmann has also made several other specific expositions of the Galatians text by way of further development of the understanding he has just outlined: ". . . Thus it is clear, for example, that he conceives of the 'Spirit' as a dynamic substance which is instilled into a man. But it is equally clear that 'to have the Spirit' or 'to be in the Spirit' or the like, means for him a mode of historical existence; it means to live without anxiety, to act continuously in love, etc." (p. 198, n. 11).

"Gal. 3:29 shows plainly that baptism does not confer a being in a new magical quality of life, but that through baptism the baptized are ingrafted into the history of salvation: the baptized are sons

no doubt in this epistle what his position is and on what level he desires to carry the debate forward.¹⁰⁹ It is true that in the Epistle to the Galatians Paul says virtually nothing positive--and many sharp negatives!--about the Law, especially as compared to Romans.¹¹⁰ But looking just a little deeper we can see that, far from rejecting (all) tradition, he seeks to 'out-trump' his opponents by using tradition to show that the promise (to which Paul ties his own understanding of faith and his doctrine of "justification by faith", especially in the Habakkuk quotation in 3:12) preceded the Law. Indeed, the Law was only a late addition and was intended to be no more

of Abraham. Paul is not thinking here of the baptismal experience of the individual but of the historical fellowship instituted through baptism. It is not as individuals that Christians become Christ's through baptism (say, by become 'deified' as in the mysteries); but all become one; 'you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3:28f.). The possession of the Spirit which manifests itself in ecstasy is not an end in itself, for the enjoyment of the individual who experiences it. For all, it is the sign of their new position within the history of salvation, the sign that the Christians are 'sons' and no longer slaves (Gal. 4:6f.)" (pp. 199-200).

¹⁰⁹Perhaps there is involved here the question of a distinction between various kinds or levels of tradition, with differing values. Perhaps there is a distinction between the nascent Christian tradition and the Jewish tradition (somewhat as we find it, mutatis mutandis, at Qumran, for example), or a distinction between different kinds or levels of the emerging Christian tradition (i.e. that relating to the earthly Jesus, that stemming from the early Christian prophets--"sentences of holy Law"; or the sayings of Jesus and the "divine man" traditions, the confessional formulae--e.g. Rom. 1:3-4, the liturgical/hymnic materials--e.g. Phil. 2). For a general discussion of this question and the problems involved in it, cf. Robinson, "Kerygma and History", who deals especially on pp. 118-121 with the problematic involved in "Traditionsgeschichte", and Ernst Käsemann, various essays published during the past decade, especially "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in his New Testament Questions of Today (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), passim.

¹¹⁰Cf. below, pp. 125-132.

than a temporary "stop-gap" measure, to become (invalid and) unnecessary when the fulfillment of that ancient promise should come. In other words, Paul's rejecting the " ἔργα νόμου " in 3:1-5 does not preclude his retaining (at least a form of) the Abraham tradition in 3:6-29.

Inseparably tied to the question of tradition and the interpretation of Gal. 3:6-29 is the question of "the sons of Abraham", the continuity according to one's self-understanding with the "people of God".¹¹¹ The dependence upon the tradition was at the same time a claim to a place within the continuity of that tradition. That these opponents were in fact making just such a claim can be seen from Paul's polemical remarks, especially that in 2:6. However, such a claim to be standing in continuity with the people of God, the "sons of Abraham", does not necessarily mean that one might not at the same time have been advocating adherence to the Law as a means of elevating oneself out of the historical limitations of one's own existence.¹¹² This tends to be further confirmed because of the presence of the envyings, dissention and rivalries (5:15, 25-26), which Georgi has described as a "private religiosity in the truest

¹¹¹Why Georgi has not chosen to make capital out of the question of the "sons of Abraham" is not clear. But his suggestions about the place of the tradition(s) in the heretics' thinking seems to lead very clearly and directly into this issue.

¹¹²This Georgi has described as follows: This heresy had entered Galatia "under the mask of a tradition-conscious and Law-strict orthodoxy. . . ." In it "true history had become overgrown with speculation and mysticism, living order become choked with legalistic construction." Georgi, Die Geschichte, p. 38.

sense." Their dependence upon the tradition placed them according to their understanding not only into continuity with a certain understanding of the past but more importantly it also enabled them to take up a certain position in the present. They found themselves in larger context not only backwards (and, presumably forwards) but also laterally in the present as members of a larger group, even if somewhat individualistically. That the heretics' community was held together on this rather superficial level was apparent at least to Paul.

What of Paul? Was he or was he not accused with lacking the Spirit?¹¹³ There seems to be no evidence in the text itself to support this argument. Perhaps it had been insinuated by his opponents, but it was not so openly and broadly stated that Paul felt compelled to answer it or even to refer to it. Indeed, his "spiritual" status was apparently obvious enough to all and well enough recognized that he could actually take the offensive precisely from this position (3:1-5). Far from being a point at which Paul had been made to feel vulnerable, this actually appears to have been a position of strength for him, a point from which he can launch an aggressive polemic of his own.

But does this, then, destroy the entire reconstruction proposed by Georgi and generally accepted here? Coupled together

¹¹³At this point the suggestions of Schmithals and Georgi converge more than at most other places. Schmithals claims that the heretics accused Paul of being only a 'σαρκικός', whereas Georgi, while not going that far, does argue that the heretics accused Paul of lacking the Spirit.

with the reasoning that Paul had not been severely attacked on the grounds of lacking the Spirit is the question of circumcision. Georgi has taken no meaningful account of Gal. 5:11, the passage which contains a reflection of a criticism which had in fact been brought against Paul, namely, that he "still preaches circumcision". This, together with the need to re-examine the question of the circumcision of Titus (Gal. 2:3-5) and Georgi's arguments there,¹¹⁴ seem to call for another suggestion. Possibly Paul's opponents had accused him not so much with "lacking the Spirit" as with something less theological but probably even more damaging: duplicity.¹¹⁵

If, then, the argument that Paul's status as a " πνευματικός " has not been severely attacked by his opponents has been sustained, what we have here is, in a sense, also one "Spirit-enthusiasm" vs. another "Spirit-enthusiasm".¹¹⁶ In other words, we find here additional evidence of the "two-frontedness", even if not as rigidly as was originally argued by Lütgert. What is more, this is a dual two-

¹¹⁴Cf. below pp. 198-212 where these matters are taken up.

¹¹⁵Whether Paul had actually been accused with "contempt for the tradition" or simply with inferiority to the (true) apostles because he did not stand directly in continuity with Jesus-Moses-Abraham, is here left open. Also cf. above pp. 94-95, esp. n. 88-89.

¹¹⁶Cf. to this "Spirit vs. Spirit" situation what Käsemann has described of the Sitz im Leben of two Matthean passages, 5:19 and 10:5f.; of the former passage he remarks: "Both parties no doubt appealed to their Spirit-given insight, so that here for the first time in Church history spirit is being set against spirit. Hence the severity which does not shrink from the application of Holy Law". Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," pp. 87-88. That it was Matthew-and only Matthew--who recorded these logia is highly interesting and very important.

frontedness.¹¹⁷ Both Paul and his opponents appear to be characterized by this two-frontedness, making the task of distinguishing their positions from one another that much more complicated.¹¹⁸ From this it can perhaps be seen how Paul was charged with duplicity! Had one wanted to caricature--or simply rebut--Paul's position, his personal status and his gospel, this might very well have been the kind of polemic which would, at least in part, have resulted. But on top of all of this, there also seems to be the very same accusation leveled by Paul against his opponents! Is not this precisely what he says of them in 6:12-13? The strikingly personal nature of the charge and counter-charge reflected in 4:12-20 seems to provide additional evidence that at least some of the argumentation was being carried on at that level.¹¹⁹

What, then, can be said about this debate, to distinguish even more clearly its participants, and to set both into the context of their times? Käsemann has proposed a thorough-going analysis of early Christianity, especially as it set out on the Gentile mission.

¹¹⁷Cf. above, pp. 75-79 . ¹¹⁸As stated above, p. 100. n.4.

¹¹⁹It is also recognized, however, that it is possible that, although the debate at times sank to that level, it might have been no more--and no less!--than pure and simple 'name-calling'. However, all of this does tend to confirm what Käsemann has said, albeit about a time somewhat earlier: "It is not enthusiasm as such, but the stamp of different theologies, which is already dividing primitive Christianity into opposing confessional camps with a degree of sharpness that is not to be minimized. Both groups are fundamentally and totally determined by their theology, they stand and fall with it." In this situation Käsemann then sees the origin of the "sentences of holy law. . . . eschatological promise and curse. . . . which directs the community" (Ibid., p. 89.)

He presents no explicit discussion of the Epistle to the Galatians. But for that very reason this is perhaps an ideal document by which to test the validity of his analysis and/or possibly to shed more light on the epistle itself, particularly in our endeavor to set it into the broader context of its times. At the same time we will also have the opportunity to test the solutions to the Galatians problem offered explicitly by Schmithals and Georgi.

Käsemann begins his schematic description of "primitive Christian apocalyptic" with Jesus (" . . . the historian is obliged to speak of a unique secret in Jesus"¹²⁰), his ministry and preaching.

(for Jesus "there is no separation between the God who is near and the God who is far off, because Creator and Judge cannot be separated without doing injury to the Godhead of God. It is just the giving, forgiving, helping, comforting God who is withdrawn from our selfish presumption and claim, and therefore far off. But in resisting our alleged rights over against him and all the privileges we base upon them, he is yet present for us in his Godhead, as all Old Testament piety which remained undistorted by legalism had always proclaimed.)¹²¹

Käsemann describes this and "this remarkable 'eschatology', which views all life as lived 'before God'. . . ." ¹²² But not only are the boundaries which delimit the distinctiveness of Jesus and separate him from his Jewish environment clearly visible, but, according to Käsemann, against this background of contrast "the message of the Jewish Christian community after Easter stands out in sharp relief."¹²³ From the Easter experience springs the Easter faith, expectation of

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 112. .

¹²¹Ibid., p. 113.

¹²²Ibid., p. 114.

¹²³Ibid., p. 114.

an imminent Parousia, the return of Jesus in the role of the heavenly Son of Man. But all of this is understood by the primitive community not as "an isolated wonder" but "as the dawn of the general resurrection", that is, it was "interpreted apocalyptically." This Easter faith was not, as Käsemann argues, "without support in the life of Jesus in this particular regard. . . . (although) this does not mean that the Easter faith can be founded in the message of Jesus. . . . because the crucifixion. . . . shook the expectations of the disciples to their foundations; more, it utterly destroyed them."¹²⁴ But that means that at Easter, "from this point onwards, the earthly life of Jesus and his resurrection are seen in terms of the dialectic 'without confusion, without division'. . . ."¹²⁵ And for Käsemann, "that means that now, with the name of Jesus, the final act of the governance of the world (and, consequentially, the course of history as a totality) is bound up in an eschatological whole."¹²⁶

In Käsemann's interpretation this christology is not, of course, isolated, but it is part of the broader situation: "With this new Christology, and corresponding to the changed conditions it

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Käsemann notes that this "is the Chalcedonian formula for the solution of the Christological problem" and maintains that "any rupture of which, on one side or the other, has always to be paid for with theological or ecclesiastical degeneration" Ibid., p. 115. He has also pointed out that this post-Easter kerygma (he has a very important discussion with Ebeling on this matter) "does not merely signify a fresh start along the old way after a temporary interruption" Ibid., pp. 114-115.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 115.

creates, goes a new self-understanding on the part of the disciples."

This, which Käsemann sees as being closely similar to that of the

Qumran community, he describes as follows:

The Christian society, united in a common hope by the Easter experience, regards itself as the holy remnant, which mediates the continuity of the Old Covenant with the people of the twelve tribes in its reconstituted character and already represents on earth the eschatological New Covenant. The 'signs'--ecstasy and healing--now taking place within the Christian community it ascribes to the Spirit which has been promised for the time of the End, and they confirm for it its understanding of itself. The Old Testament idea of the people of God thus forms the model for the earliest ecclesiology. The miracle-working Spirit, who has been received since Easter, gives to the present time, however, the character not merely of historical effect but of eschatological completion of the Old Testament covenant, as the dawning, already visible and yet still hidden, of the reign of God on earth. Hence the church is now governed, in accordance with the dictates of heavenly law, by apostles, who count as the pillars of the heavenly city of God, and newly arisen prophets. . . .¹²⁷

This, in turn, leads Käsemann into a discussion of ecclesiology and anthropology. Not only does he deny that there is an "explicit anthropology" (i.e. "anthropology oriented towards the individual"¹²⁸), in this earliest stratum of tradition, but he sees the self-understanding and, indeed, the theology of this stratum revolving around ecclesiology: "The individual Christian must therefore be preserved from apostasy and maintained in fidelity to the Covenant by means of

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 116. The dependence here upon the position of Bultmann (one specific aspect of which is outlined above, pp. 102-104 n. 108) is apparent. But as if to counter-balance this and to show his own dissensus with Bultmann, Käsemann turns immediately to a discussion of anthropology, arguing that it is nowhere to be found in the earliest stratum.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 117, n. 11 in debate with Fuchs.

comfort, warning, admonition and judgment." At this point everything is subordinate to ecclesiology, especially anthropology but also soteriology. The latter is "determined almost exclusively by the idea of the people of God" while the former is in no way an independent expression of theology but only the parenetic concretion and application of ecclesiology."¹²⁹

But then Käsemann sees a sharp turn in developments: "... a reality which suddenly overtook them--the reality of the Gentile mission and its unpredictable success. . . ."¹³⁰ This at one and the same time confronted the church with the question of the Law¹³¹ and drove "Jewish Christianity more and more into a corner."¹³² By that Käsemann means to say that "it was the inauguration of the Gentile mission by outsiders which first compelled it to take up a definitive attitude to the question of the ceremonial and ritual Law and to clarify to itself how far it was still (or no longer) Jewish."¹³³ The self-understanding of the post-Easter community moved it to the task: they were the holy remnant "waiting for the restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel." And "the task here is neither more nor less than mission." And yet the objective is limited: "the eschatological renewal of the Covenant."¹³⁴ "From this standpoint, too, we are to understand the new role of baptism: it is now the

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 117. ¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 117-118. ¹³¹Ibid., p.117.

¹³²Ibid., p. 118. Here follows a discussion of the 'am-ha-aretz' and their relation to the Torah, over which there seems to be no need to go into detail here.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 119.

seal of membership in the eschatological people of God."¹³⁵

This in a very general way¹³⁶ is the historical background to what Käsemann has called "Hellenistic enthusiasm and Paul." In this Hellenistic church, the church as we find it after the inauguration of the Gentile mission, there is one basic fact (which, we are reminded, still obtains today!), and that is the mixing of Jews and Gentiles, of Jewish heritage on Gentile soil. And Käsemann's caveat is that "inheritance and mutation have to be thought of together." As he says, "we may not simply eliminate here: we have to differentiate." By that he means "to look for the continuity within the discontinuity without reducing the element of discontinuity within the continuity. . . ."¹³⁷ This leads Käsemann into a discussion of the church at Corinth. It leads us to a specific examination of the church at Galatia; occasional references to or comparisons with the Corinth situation will be helpful.

The Galatian 'heretics' apparently found themselves between two foci, two tendencies of the Christian church as it entered upon Gentile soil:¹³⁸ on the one hand was their enthusiasms and on the other was their desire to be (remain) in the continuity of the people of God. For them Christ was the "κόσμος", the cosmic Ruler, the

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶A summary of a summary is very risky, but the risk is well worth taking if progress were to be made!

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 125.

¹³⁸Cf. the discussion of their "two-frontedness" above pp. 94-95, 107-108.

Lord over angels, the "στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου", fate.¹³⁹ This was enhanced and heightened as the success of the (Gentile) mission became ever more apparent. "The outreach of Christ's Kingdom was extending over the whole world. . . ."¹⁴⁰ But precisely that sweep to victory and into mission on Gentile soil brought not only the pagan accretions but also the question of the continuity with their heritage: were they still the people of God, the 'sons of Abraham'? Thus for them Christ, far from disrupting or destroying the continuity with the people of God (Christ himself was "born under the Law" Gal. 4:4), far from abrogating the Law, consummated it; he was the definitive expression of the Law, the culmination of the tradition. In Christ the two foci of the "heretics'" theology were united: he was sweeping to triumph in the Gentile mission but at the same time he was the apex of the Jewish tradition. In him the Law was not simply a particularistic moment in the cosmos inhibiting his rule over the nation; in Christ the Law was the means of liberation from the demons and the world powers, not apart from the Law, but precisely "under the Law" just as he was "under the Law" and is now Ruling through it. This is the "Law of Christ", Christ the cosmic Ruler and "his" Law which brings into continuity with him and with all of the people of God.

This group of "heretics" were on mission. While not necessar-

¹³⁹Käsemann, op. cit., pp. 127-128. Much of his description of Corinth fits here also, of course.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 128.

ily "dogging Paul's footsteps", they had nevertheless set out on mission among the Gentiles--as well, no doubt, as among the Jews of the dispersion. They had perhaps been spurred on by the success Paul had had--which had been openly acknowledged in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:7-10). Their objective was possibly not to undermine Paul's work. Rather it was to move out into the Gentile "world" with the (true) Gospel. But this meant that at the same time they were inevitably in conflict with Paul.¹⁴¹ These Galatian opponents, most likely not having any connections (direct) with the "false brothers" and surely not with the Jerusalem apostles, were apparently saying simply that Paul was a "phony", a counterfeit apostle, in comparison with the (genuine) Jerusalem apostles. However, the Jerusalem apostles themselves probably did not send them out, possibly did not even know or at least fully realize what they were doing and that their own names were being used, and probably did not approve of their tactics (if not of their mission itself). However, it is possible that after the break which occurred between Paul and those Jerusalem apostles (Gal. 2:11-14), there had developed an "anti-Paul" undercurrent of opinion among the (older) Jewish-Christians. Most probably at the very least, in view of Paul's having "told Peter off" at Antioch, the Jerusalem apostles would have nothing to do

¹⁴¹Not that these Galatian heretics were part of a "mass movement" or "massive (organized) missionary enterprise." The specific nature of their syncretistic features are distinctive enough to delimit them from any "mass" movement. They most likely were a rather small group, perhaps acquainted with others--even in Jerusalem--but acting independently. But that is not to say that they did not know about and were not deeply impressed by the greater scope of the

with Paul and bore him some ill will. Georgi's argument that 2:6 reflects some kind of later agreement or proclamation made without Paul--and from which Paul emphatically separates himself--would support this reconstruction.

At any rate, we can see from Galatians that the group was highly syncretistic. Their preaching and theology had become "enriched" by numerous heathen motifs. But in it all, their inheritance from the earliest Christian community is clear enough as is their explicit desire to remain in continuity with them and with the Jewish traditions which were so great a part of that community and its self-understanding. But what Käsemann describes as "an exodus out of the Jewish religious community"¹⁴² must have touched them deeply and aroused their determination to bridge the gap, to set out on mission but at the same time to remain "sons of Abraham" in the fullest sense of the word. They were at one and the same time moved by the Spirit (presumably including the usual manifestations of the same which have commonly been called simply "enthusiasm") and committed to the Covenant. They seem to have been attacking Paul primarily on the latter point, namely, that he was a "free-booter". The description given by Käsemann of the Hellenistic church has several points of contact with the Galatian situation:

For the Hellenistic Church. . . . Christ's dethroning of the principalities and powers is primarily a heavenly event which

(successful) Gentile mission. Their criticisms of Paul give evidence of this.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 129.

has not yet become known everywhere on earth, not yet been everywhere verified, still awaits completion and, for this reason, obligates the earthly community to mission. The actual situation, in spite of all the missionary successes of the Hellenist community, is not basically different from the situation on Palestinian soil. This community must therefore, like Jewish Christianity, answer the question as to what earthly reality corresponds to their message of redemption. . . . Jewish Christianity answered it by referring back to the Old Testament promise and interpreting the gift of the Spirit as the fulfillment of this promise: we are the holy remnant and, as such, the first-fruits of the messianic people of God which is to find renewal in the time of the End.¹⁴³

This reconstruction obviously allows us to apply it, general as it is, to the Galatian situation in just such a general way. However, Käsemann has added a reconstruction of the results of subsequent developments:

But the concept of the people of God ceased to be viable once the Gentile mission had in principle been embarked upon; more so, once the Church had actually become over-whelmingly a Church of Gentile Christians. The idea of the people of God could now only be used figuratively and clearly no longer as an argument for a continuity which could be historically demonstrated but solely for the continuity of grace which could only be believed.¹⁴⁴

For the Galatian heretics this latter kind of continuity was not explicit enough. For them circumcision and Law were still needed, even if understood syncretistically in a fashion found here and there in the Hellenistic synagogues. This is, then, the heart of the difference between the Galatian heretics and the enthusiasts at Corinth. Both groups were Spirit-enthusiasts (as was Paul himself, of course). However, the Galatian opponents (self-consciously) wanted to retain a (visible, direct, explicit) continuity with the

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 128-129.

Covenant (4:22-31) through circumcision and the Law, whereas the Corinthian group did not. Their enthusiasm had carried them beyond that point.

What can we now say about Paul's reaction to this situation? For him the heretics' dependence upon tradition as they understood it and desired to carry it out was only "slavery" (4:1-3, 7, 8-11, 22-31, 5:1), it brought a curse (3:10), it was "boasting" (6:12).¹⁴⁵ For him the tradition stood in the service of the God who promises (3:16-29), who by his promise brings men together into community. To be in continuity with the people of God, in Paul's thinking, is a gift (Gal. 3:6-7, which seems to be a highly polemical statement, 3:29) which excludes any possibility of the recipient making claim on God, the Giver.¹⁴⁶ That the Gentiles were to be included in the

¹⁴⁵Paul's criticism of his opponents, if we are to regard it as not mere polemics but as having basis in the self-understanding of these Galatian heretics, bears some resemblance to what Käsemann has said about the Qumran people and Pharisees: "They treat God as though he were remote by putting the Law and the tradition in his place, by demanding blind obedience, by refusing to treat their fellow human beings as the sphere of the authentic service of God and, in so doing, separating the Creator from his creature and the creature from his neighbor" *Ibid.*, p. 123. In all of this we do well to recall Bultmann's observation that "there is no trace in Paul of the argument that the Law is for man an externally oppressive burden--not even in the Epistle to the Galatians--and perhaps we can also say that the men who at that time accepted Christianity will rather have done too much than too little with regard to legal observance." Bultmann, "Christ the End of the Law," in his Essays Philosophical and Theological (New York: Macmillan, 1955), p. 38.

Gal. 6:13, ". . . boast in your flesh" apparently refers in a rather sarcastic way to the heretics' desire for success in their mission efforts: cf. Matt. 23:15.

¹⁴⁶This theme of "gift" recalls Käsemann's essay, "God's Righteousness in Paul," in his New Testament Questions of Today, pp. 168-182. To go into this question and the debate which has followed

promise given to Abraham was part of God's original purpose now accomplished in Christ (3:13-14, which is a kind of summary statement). These two emphases, that status as "sons of Abraham" is gift and that the Gentiles are now included on the grounds of faith according to God's plan, give insight into the self-understanding of the heretics, at least as Paul understood it. That they had made claims upon God and that this was on the basis of their circumcision-produced status as the people of God seems to be clear enough.¹⁴⁷ Far from those who submit to the Law being entitled to privilege, to claim priority (in 2:6 Paul also accuses his opponents, of course, of themselves claiming priority via the Jerusalem apostles), even--especially!--those who are under the Law need to be ransomed (4:5), are in need of adoption (4:5, cf. 3:26-29). The fact that these act(s) of ransom and adoption are emphasized in the very context where claims of the heretics are apparently being reflected is most purposeful and illuminating.

Furthermore, in this same context (4:4) we also catch sight of

upon the publication of Käsemann's essay, would, of course, be beyond the scope of this present study. Let it suffice here to say that Käsemann's interpretation of 3:6 (λογίζεσθαι εἰς δικαιοσύνην) accords well with this context and the historical setting: "this formula signifies that in this world we have the righteousness only as a gift which is declared ours, which is constantly assailed and must be confirmed. That is, we have it under the sign of promise and expectation" p. 170.

¹⁴⁷That "righteousness" was also involved in this debate seems to be apparent, although not with nearly as much emphasis as was being placed on the question of "sons of Abraham". This can be concluded at least on the basis of Paul's argumentation. Cf. Käsemann, Ibid.

Paul's christological emphasis.¹⁴⁸ Paul apparently saw the need, over against the emphasis of his opponents,¹⁴⁹ to call attention precisely to the human, the historical (and in this way also imply the eschatological reservation as one relates himself to this human Lord)--death, birth by a woman, life under the Law.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the "Spirit-enthusiasm" of the heretics had apparently carried them to a self-understanding and christology which focused on the "transcendent" or non-historical, against which Paul places his emphasis.

All of this takes us to the question of ecclesiology. What was the ecclesiology springing from their distinctive self-understanding, co-ordinated with their christology? First of all, we must take note of the fact that in just the context where Paul discusses the question of incorporation into the people of God, there

¹⁴⁸Cf. above pp. 146-147, esp. n. 44 for a parallel emphasis in 3:1, etc.

¹⁴⁹Other aspects of their christology are noted on pp. 114, 116, and esp. 97-98 and 101 where the suggestions of Georgi are discussed.

¹⁵⁰This is noted by Koester, "ΙΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ", p. 308: "The key to Paul's critical refutation of his opponents' Law mythology is his understanding of the coming of Christ as a human being at a specific moment in history (Gal. 4:4). Certainly Paul does not try to evaluate the person of Jesus with the categories of a modern historian. Jesus is seen, no doubt, as a figure fulfilling a purpose in a divine plan which is understood in theological categories. However, the reason why Jesus fulfills this function is precisely in that he was born, lived (Gal. 4:4) and died (Gal. 3:13) as a human being. For Paul this is epitomized in the crucifixion." One ought also to note the apparent lack of emphasis on Paul's part on the "κύριος". In Galatians it is used of Christ only five times, and that very non-emphatically. Was this deliberate? Why? Cf. his other epistles where the title is much more frequently used.

he lays great stress on unity, oneness. The Galatian heretics had and lived with a specific concept of the church which was obviously distinct from Paul's own. That Paul had realized this can be seen from his desire to underscore the unity and the oneness (3:26-29) and that faith works itself out in love (5:6) as well as from his calling great attention to interpersonal relationships (5:15, 5:25-6:2). What were the general features of the ecclesiology of these opponents?

As we see from the matter of the "sons of Abraham", it must have been determined by some idea of the people of God. However, this need not be understood exclusively on the basis of the Old Testament. The obvious syncretistic accretions in the theology of these heretics already speaks against this. The figure of Abraham, so important for these heretics--presumably both in their self-understanding as well as in their ecclesiology--is to be found frequently in the various (and diverse) traditions (Jewish) of the Hellenistic period. Very possibly Abraham was seen by them (on the basis of their tradition) as a cosmic proto-type of the "Spiritual" man, with the Law being viewed accordingly.¹⁵¹ Thus, instead of

¹⁵¹Philo, for example, presents a picture of Abraham as the proto-type of the pagan who escapes subservience to the elements by recognizing the true structure and nature of the universe, i.e. that it is under the control of the Creator, cf. de Vita Con. 5; de Abrah. 69. Similarly Josephus, Antiq. I,7,1. To this cf. W.L. Knox, "Abraham and the Quest for God," Harvard Theological Review, XXVIII (1935), 55-60, who notes that "it is clear that our earliest legends as to Abraham's finding of God come from Hellenistic-Jewish sources" (p. 55) and subsequently also notes that it was the synagogue of the diaspora which was concerned with mission and from which concern sprang many of the features, elaborations, etc. in the Abraham traditions stemming from those sources. This interpretation also lends support to Georgi's suggestion that the heretics bore resemblance

the idea of the "sons of Abraham" being one of unity and corporate-ness, it very possibly was understood by them individualistically. This, then, would have been their ecclesiology, which prompted Paul's reaction with stress on all-inclusive unity (" *πάντες* " in the place of emphasis in 3:26), on the limitations of the present realities of life, of the need for " *ἀγάπη* " in interpersonal relations.¹⁵² Thus it seems that their ecclesiology, while remaining under the standard of the (corporate) "sons of Abraham", the Covenant community, was in fact rather individualistic. The sacraments, then, baptism and circumcision, while bringing into this community, were understood

to the mysteries, which is also further confirmed by some of the vocabulary, e.g. 3:3--cf. below pp. 156-158.

¹⁵²To this cf. Käsemann, *op. cit.* p. 130. Tending to confirm the argument of Käsemann that (the earliest stratum of tradition) in the earliest times, there was no "explicit anthropology" (*Ibid.*, pp. 116-117) is a bit of evidence from the Epistle to the Galatians. Not only is it true that in chapter 3 there is strong emphasis away from "individualistic" anthropology (this was in fact implied by Bultmann himself who stated already in 1927: "It should be noted that in Gal. 3 Paul is not thinking at all about the individual and his 'development', but of the history of salvation", "Church and Teaching," p. 199, n. 13. Cf. above p. 102-4, n. 108 especially the final paragraph for additional similar comments by Bultmann). It should also be pointed out that the term " *σῶμα* " --which in Bultmann's anthropologically-oriented description of Paul's theology assumes a primary (if not pre-eminent: it comes first!) place--is found only once in Galatians (6:17). Even Bultmann himself makes scant reference to Galatians in that paragraph. Next we ask: why? Was this an earlier "stage" in Paul's 'development', to be read and understood from the perspective of his 'later' works? Or is this to be explained in the light of the situation confronting Paul at Galatia? But even that is possibly no more than a matter of pushing the question back one more step: did Paul's Galatian opponents represent an "earlier stage" in the 'development' of Christian theology? Did these opponents represent, not necessarily an "earlier"--or later!--stage or even a "stage" at all, but one variant in a sweep of events or in the course of (early Christian) history? Or do we have to do with some sort of combination, both in the person of Paul and in his opponents, of these several possibilities?

quite individualistically. One thing is certain, in Gal. 3-6 the foremost theological theme is ecclesiology, with christology and soteriology also being stressed but precisely in conjunction with and supportive of the ecclesiology.¹⁵³

But this poses the question of faith. It is obviously present. Both Paul and his opponents have a concept of it. What can be said about it?¹⁵⁴ Faith is also central in Gal. 3-6, especially in ch. 3.

For Paul it is faith which makes "sons of Abraham" since Abraham himself was the proto-type of the man of faith (3:6-7). For Paul faith removes any need that might once have existed for circumcision (3:1-5, 2:16,20). Faith is linked to "promise"--or more precisely, to the God who promises (3:6-7, 26-29). In this way faith was no less than the absolute antithesis of the Law, of the attempt to lay a claim upon God. But faith for Paul was more than this. For him faith brought one into the continuity with the people of God. Faith also is not at all an individualistic thing: the plural construction "οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι θῖοί εἰσιν Ἀβραὰμ" attests to this; that "faith" works through "ἀγάπη" attests to this (5:6). In this way also faith removes any need for circumcision, indeed moves the believer into community in a way that circumcision could never do (this is the point of 5:6 and its context, including 5:13 but then also of 6:2!).

¹⁵³Käsemann, op.cit., p. 117.

¹⁵⁴Käsemann observes that "faith. . . . after Easter. . . . pre-supposes a developed eschatology, christology and ecclesiology" Ibid., p. 120.

For Paul's opponents this was obviously not the case, since they required circumcision (ἀναγκάζειν περιτέμνεσθαι --6:12). Faith for them apparently presupposed "works of the Law" (2:15-18, 3:1-5). Perhaps one could even go so far as to deduce that their concept of faith actually, in the final analysis, amounted to observance of the Law. It is not at all inaccurate to speak of their "faith" being "a deepened knowledge of the Law". In other words, for them "faith" was no more nor no less than an adjunct to their Law observance with all that that involved and implied.

From this it can easily be seen that Käsemann's reconstruction here finds a congenial reception. What can be known--inferred, implied, seen--about the Galatians situation, both Paul himself as well as his opponents, seems to fit very well into the general scheme given by Käsemann. On the other hand, the work of Lütgert, Schmithals and Georgi is here received with varying degrees of cordiality. The suggestions made by Georgi are, of course, here found to be of more direct help than those of Lütgert and Schmithals, although a genuine attempt to find insights, points of contact, suggestions of any positive value at all in their work has been made. But even the suggestions of Georgi must be sifted, modified, amended and, in some cases, even rejected. It is, however, hoped that the present reconstruction is read as but another step--hopefully forward--along a path that has been cut by many others in the past.

CHAPTER III

EXEGETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

PART 1: SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

ON PAUL'S USE OF THE TERM ΝΟΜΟΣ

Perhaps the most remarkable observation one can make concerning Paul's use of the term νόμος is the fact that there is not an even distribution within Paul's epistles and the Pauline corpus generally of the use of the term νόμος. A glance at the concordance reveals that the use of this term ranges from well over fifty times in the Epistle to the Romans and about three dozen times in Galatians to not at all in 1 Thessalonians and 2 Corinthians. It occurs seven times in 1 Corinthians, three times in Philippians (all in chapter 3!), and in other parts of the Pauline corpus only twice in 1 Timothy, once in Ephesians and not at all in Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy and Titus. This, of course, is not the whole story.¹ But it is an interesting and important observation which is frequently overlooked.

Thus one cannot help but be struck by the fact that in certain epistles the Law is a center of attention, while in others it is more peripheral or is totally absent. This in itself tends to

¹For example, there is a spirited discussion of the covenant in 2 Corinthians. Likewise other epistles in the Pauline corpus also contain discussions of concepts or terms which are related to the Law or to the broader context of Judaism.

suggest that we ought to treat with caution the question of Paul's use of the term νόμος as well as his understanding and the meaning and implication of this term. That is to say, we ought to be cautious about harmonizing the understanding of the term as it is found in the various epistles of Paul. Rather, it is necessary to analyze each epistle individually in the light of its historical background and then to ask what role the Law played (or did not play) there before we approach the more general question of Paul's understanding of the Law.

Furthermore, the observation of the uneven distribution of the use of the term νόμος in Paul's epistles might also suggest that the Law did not play as central a role in Paul's theology generally as is sometimes assumed. It suggests that the use of the term might be more closely tied to the specific historical circumstances which occasioned the writing of the epistle than to the fact that the Law was a central facet of Paul's theology which would then, of course, have been included in (all of) his preaching and epistles. If this is not the case, then we are hard pressed to explain why it does not occur more frequently and more centrally--in some cases, in fact, why it does not occur at all!--in several of his epistles. It would also then have to be further explained why the "Pauline school" does not give more evidence of its centrality in the deutero-Pauline epistles.

As we proceed, then, to an examination of the use of the term νόμος in the individual Pauline epistles, culminating in some conclusions regarding Paul's use of the expression "the Law of Christ,"

it might be useful to begin with a schematic comparison of the two epistles where it occurs most prominently, Romans and Galatians. This general or schematic comparison will be followed by a more detailed and specific exegetical analysis of certain important passages from several of the Pauline epistles.

This attempt in itself is intended to signal a break with the Baur hypothesis. As has previously been argued, where one begins with presuppositions like those of F. C. Baur, there one is unable precisely because of those presuppositions to carry on such a comparison or even to admit that it is actually possible.²

On the other hand, where one abstracts the theology of Paul--some call it his thinking or his "mind"--from the historical world in which he lived, there one is perhaps able to recognize (indeed, perhaps even looks for) changes and modifications or developments in Paul's mind or theology. But there we also find a strong tendency to attribute such changes to a more or less inward process

²It is also significant that such a comparison does not yet occur in the work of two of the more important scholars who have broken with the Baur position, at least partially, W. Lütgert and W. Schmithals. Lütgert seems to be dependent upon his analysis of Paul's opponents in Corinth (published in 1908 under the title "Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth") at several important points in his attempt to describe the heretics of Galatia (cf. W. Lütgert, Gesetz und Geist (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1919), pp. passim. In other words, he seems to imply that the "pneumatikoi" in Galatia can best be understood by reference to the "enthusiasts" in Corinth. Furthermore, what for Lütgert had been implicit has, for Schmithals, apparently become explicit. His monograph on 1 Corinthians and the collection of his essays on the smaller epistles indicate that not one or even several but all of Paul's congregations had been infiltrated by Gnostics.

of the "mind", to something that is basically happening within Paul, but not with any specific or concrete contact with or reference to the historical world. In this view there is no necessary or essential interaction between a man's world and his ideas and beliefs³

³In the older period it was a more or less generally accepted assumption that variations or changes in the theology of Paul from one epistle to the next were the result of the "development" of the apostle--again without any specific reference to historical events which might have prompted or brought about such development (cf. above pp. 1-48 passim). In more recent times a prominent advocate of this position has been C. H. Dodd. In his two articles published in the 1930's on the "mind of Paul" we find a clear and concise presentation of his interpretation. It is also most convenient for our purposes that he has singled out as one of the chief points of the focus of his attention Paul's understanding of the Law. First of all, in order to trace a development, Dodd answers the question of the chronological sequence of the epistles. He takes 1 Thess. as being very early. In it the eschatological anticipation is still rather sharp and keen. 1 Cor. is also rather early, although 2 Cor. seems to mark off the beginning of a deep change in Paul. By that time the prolonged delay of the parousia especially, and other circumstances generally, had promoted a development in the mind of Paul. This change or development Dodd describes as follows: ". . . if the Advent is deferred to an indefinite future, then the present gains in significance. And as we have seen, side by side with a diminishing emphasis on the imminence of the Advent goes a growing emphasis on the eternal life here and now in communion with Christ. This is sometimes described as the transformation of eschatology into mysticism, and the expression will serve. Paul's thought was indeed never wholly eschatological nor did it ever become purely mystical, but there is nevertheless a real development, and it is noteworthy that the turning-point seems to lie somewhere about the time of 2 Corinthians" C. H. Dodd, New Testament Studies (Manchester: University Press, 1953), pp. 112-113.

Although Dodd does acknowledge that according to his interpretation there are some "inconsistencies", he sees a striking modification of Paul's attitude toward the state and its rulers and laws from the "contemptuous tone" of 1 Cor. 6:1-11 to the "positive valuation of the political institutions" in Rom. 13:1-10. As an integral part of all of this development in the mind of Paul, Dodd also finds a corresponding development in Paul's understanding of the Law: "Whereas in Galatians it (the Law) is the instrument of the angelic powers for the enslavement of God's people--an enslavement which He permitted until 'the fulness of time' (4:24, 5:1). . . . In Romans it is in

In Romans, especially in chapter 7 where there is an extended discussion of the Law, we find what has been described by one scholar

itself holy, spritual, just and good, but because of the weakness of the flesh was incapable of effecting its true purpose, to give life (7:12, 14, 8:3). . . . This indicates a less intransigent attitude in Paul's controversy with the legalists, which finds expression also in his plea for unity between the Jewish and Gentile wings of the Church in Rom. 15:7-12. . . . The emphasis in Ephesians upon the unity of Jew and Greek in the Church is seen to be in harmony with Paul's later irenic attitude in this matter." (pp. 123-124.)

Dodd's study shows a careful examination of the difference between the various epistles of Paul, including Galatians and Romans. The weakness that becomes apparent in his work is not that he perceives a "development" in the mind of Paul--it is real and it is therefore important that it be taken into account, but that he interprets Paul (i.e., explains his development) more or less apart from the historical background of the individual epistles. His is not a rigidly historical analysis, or perhaps more accurately stated, his understanding of the historical backgrounds of Paul's epistles does not deal adequately with the variety of situations which Paul confronted and which are now becoming more apparent and important to us. Thus a question such as the delay of the parousia confronted not only Paul, but all sectors of the early church. Cf. J. M. Robinson, "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," in J. P. Hyatt (ed.) The Bible in Modern Scholarship (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 119. While suggesting some of the ramifications of this for Paul, Dodd has not even intimated that it might also have been a problem for others, including Paul's opponents, and that disagreement over the meaning of this delay might have been precisely one of the factors causing divisions within the early church, including those between Paul and his opponents. Thus Dodd's methodology is questionable as he attempts to describe the change effected in Paul by this fact in isolation from the change which was occurring throughout early Christianity. Robinson (op.cit., pp. 145f) also calls attention to the fluidity of terms and concepts in the church at the time of Paul, which again was true for the entire church, not only for Paul. Cf. also Hans Conzelmann, "The First Century as Christian History," in Hyatt, op.cit., p. 226. Johannes Weiss has argued for a more historical understanding of the differences between Romans and Galatians (cf. above, pp. 51-53). Bultmann has also noted those differences, describing the Romans statements as "(Paul's) basic view (of) the Torah (Rom. 7:12, 14)" and ascribing Paul's statements in Galatians to "his polemic against Jewish legalism" R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 174.

as an "irenic attitude" toward the Law⁴ and by another scholar as Paul's "apology of the Law".⁵ There Paul says that 1) the Law is God's Law (7:12, 25; 8:7); 2) the reason for man's not keeping the Law lies in man himself (7:14; 8:3-4);⁶ 3) the Law is holy, just, good, spiritual (7:13-14); 4) Abraham's "seed" consists "not only of those of the Law but also of those of faith" (4:15). In addition to this we note that in 7:6 Paul can characterize the Law as "the old way of the written code."⁷

In contrast to this we see a rather different emphasis in Galatians. There Paul explicitly says that 1) the Law was not given by God but by angels (3:19);⁸ 2) the reason for man's not keeping the Law lies in the Law itself (3:3; 4:3, 9);⁹ 3) the Law has a curse (3:13), it is impotent (3:21), temporary (3:9, 18, 23), and it is a (cruel) taskmaster (3:24); 4) Abraham's posterity includes only those with faith (3:7)--those under the Law are under a curse

⁴Dodd, op.cit., pp. 123-124. Cf. also W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: S.P.C.K., 1965), pp. 69-70.

⁵G. Bornkamm, "Sünde, Gesetz und Tod," in his Das Ende des Gesetzes (München: Kaiser 1963), pp. 54-61.

⁶Cf. O. Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity (London: Williams and Norgate, 1906), pp. 307-308.

⁷Cf. also 2 Cor. 3:14 and on that passage, D. Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief (Neukirchen:Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 265-282.

⁸Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 174 says that Paul has here "appropriated the Gnostic proposition that . . . it was given by subordinate angel-powers."

⁹Pfleiderer, op.cit., pp. 306f.

(3:10) rather than the blessing promised to Abraham (3:8-9). It is likewise striking to note that in the course of this debate Paul also discusses the question of what is "old." Here, however, the Law is specifically not characterized as old; rather the promise is older than, prior to the Law (cf. 3:15-18, 3:6-8).

As we have seen above, for many years scholars have noticed the difference between Paul's attitude toward the Law in these two epistles. Some, as we have seen, have explained this difference as a (more or less inevitable) "development" on the part of Paul.¹⁰ Others have in one way or another attributed it to the difference in the discussions taking place in the circumstances which form the back-drop of the two different epistles.¹¹ A few simply call it an "inconsistency" and probe no deeper.¹² However, it is precisely this difference between Romans and Galatians in the treatment of the Law which gives us the opportunity to begin to develop a "test case" for determining the role of "history" as a factor that conditions the "kerygma", for discovering the importance of historical circumstances in the explicating of theology. Why did Paul speak of the Law rather more positively in Romans than in Galatians? Or to put it another way, why was it undesirable or impossible for Paul to make (any!) positive statements about the Law in his epistle to the Galatians while in his epistle to the Romans we find

¹⁰Cf. above, pp. 223, 28-29 and passim.

¹¹Cf. above pp. 3, 8-10, 18-20, 22, 29-34 and passim.

¹²Cf. e. g. above pp. 22-23.

a number of them?

Furthermore, in view of Paul's "apologetic" or "irenic" attitude toward the Law in Romans as compared to his utterly negative evaluation of it in Galatians, why was it in the latter epistle that he refers to "the Law of Christ"? Or, why does he not refer to "the Law of Christ" in that context in which he evidences a somewhat more positive or "apologetic" stance toward the Law? If the expression "the Law of Christ" is an element of the tradition which Paul himself utilizes (positively) and with which he agrees (i.e., which expresses an aspect of his theology to his satisfaction, without any further ado), why does he not use it in Romans, especially given the broader context of that epistle which would appear to have been a hospitable place for it to have been found?

There is an example of the very thing and that precisely in the context of Paul's discussion of the Law. The statement "love your neighbor as yourself," which is understood as the fulfillment of the Law, is employed by Paul in both Romans (13:8-10), and Galatians (5:14). Paul has presumably found this statement in the tradition and has apparently found it to be an adequate explication of (an aspect of) his own theology. His use of it in both Romans and Galatians seems to suggest this.

Thus, is it justified to deduce on the basis of this and because of the fact that the expression "the Law of Christ" is not found in Romans that that latter expression was not deeply imbedded in the tradition available to Paul, or, that although it was in the tradition, that Paul's refusal to use it in Romans indicates that

it did not express (an aspect of) his theology? Phrased another way, is it legitimate to deduce on the basis of Paul's use of a traditional statement in both Romans and Galatians and his failure to use the expression "the Law of Christ" in Romans that that expression, or at least its usage in Galatians, is tied to the historical circumstances surrounding that epistle?¹³

PART 2: LAW AND SPIRIT:

GALATIANS 3:1-5 AND THEIR CONTEXT

A. The Preceding Context

According to the understanding of Wilhelm Lütgert Gal. 3:1-5 plays a very important role in our understanding and interpretation of the entire epistle.¹⁴ He argues that it holds valuable information about the controversy taking place between Paul and his Galatian opponents. But before entering into an examination of that passage it will be necessary to look at the verses that precede it as well as at other facets of the context of 3:1-5. Although in one sense 3:1 does begin a new section of the epistle,¹⁵ there are close and

¹³This matter will, of course, be expanded upon below (cf. pp. 136-250). The question which is raised here has also been asked by E. Bammel, "νόμος Χριστοῦ" in Studia Evangelica (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964), III, 120-128. Bammel's work will also be discussed and presented in more detail below.

¹⁴The very title of Lütgert's monograph, Gesetz und Geist, from which the title of this chapter is obviously borrowed, is intended to indicate the problematic of the epistle and is here also intended to indicate the dependence of this study on the work of Lütgert.

¹⁵Most introductions and commentaries divide thus, e. g.,

direct ties between 2:21 and 3:1. The progression of thought or of the argumentation moves very smoothly from the preceding to the following section; that is to say, 3:1-5 is built upon and presupposes the verses that precede it.

The interpretation of Rudolf Bultmann given for 2:15-18 is, in general at least, accepted here.¹⁶ In his article he pays special attention to some of the statements that have sometimes been understood to be polemical formulations of the opponents, especially v. 17.¹⁷ According to Bultmann, v. 16 has set up the issue: either works of the Law or faith in Christ Jesus. A man must choose between these two; he cannot have both, or a little of each. Thus Bultmann argues:

v. 17 says: if this either-or does not remain valid, then faith in Christ is actually meaningless because Christ himself has become superfluous. This must be the meaning of the ἄρα (or ἄρα) Χριστός ἀμαρτίας δίδονος which is rejected by the μη γένοιτο . This appears to me to be corroborated by virtue of the fact that v. 21 articulates the very same fundamental idea: were righteousness to be won by means of the Law, then Christ has died for no reason. The ἄρα Χριστός

W. Marxsen, Introduction to the New Testament (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), p. 48; H. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1962), p. 118. H. Lietzmann, Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus: I, An die Galater (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910) ad loc. even argues that there is a "pause" before 3:1. However, perhaps a new look at the structure of the entire epistle is now needed, especially with the aim of locating the polemical as well as the apologetic passages.

¹⁶R. Bultmann, "Zur Auslegung von Galater 2, 15-18," in Ecclesia Semper Reformanda (München: Kaiser, 1952), pp. 41-45.

¹⁷E. g. E. D. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians (Edinburgh: Clark, 1920), pp. 125ff.; Lietzmann, op.cit., p. 239; Schlier, op.cit., p. 95.

σωπεῖν ἀπεύθυνεν. takes up again in a new form the thought of v. 17: ἄρα Χριστός ἀμαρτίας διδάκωνος and this sentence must be interpreted by that one. And the very first implication of that, in my opinion, is that in v. 17 ἄρα is to be read and the sentence is not to be understood as a question, which is answered by μὴ γένοιτο; the μὴ γένοιτο rejects the (in Paul's mind) absurd sentence.

Through the parallelism of the two ἄρα-sentences, however, the meaning of the first (ἄρα Χριστός ἀμαρτίας διδάκωνος) is clearly determined. He cannot say: 'then Christ is the one who causes sins (namely perhaps, since he leads to the transgression of the Law), who lures to sin,' but only: 'then he stands in the service of that which (even now as previously) traps (them) in their sins; he has not freed them from their sins.'¹⁸

Thus Bultmann has shown that this verse need not be understood as it has often been, namely, as a polemical accusation of Paul's opponents.¹⁹ Rather, working on the basis of the context of this verse, he has attempted to show that this is not only not a question, but that it is a polemical statement made by Paul himself over against

¹⁸Ibid., p. 42. Bultmann also points to 1 Cor. 15:17 for a parallel to the same kind of logic: ". . . also in Gal. 2:17 Paul could have said precisely: ἄρα παρὰ τὰ ἢ πιστὶς ὑμῶν The decisive thought is the negative: he has not freed them from their sins" p. 42, n. 3.

¹⁹Cf. above, n. 18. In addition the reasoning of W. Bousset, "Der Brief an die Galater," Die Schriften des neuen Testaments. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1908), ad loc.: "Now Peter was found to be a sinner by virtue of the fact that he ate with the Gentiles; both in the eyes of the Judaizers who had been sent as well as by his own conscience, since he later drew back. Paul can identify himself with Peter insofar as his action, like that of Peter, was condemned by the Judaistic opponents. . . . Thus the present circumstances seem to lead to the tragic conclusion that 'Christ' has become for Peter the promoter of sin insofar as he has brought him to a breach with the Law." Burton argues in a somewhat similar way: "That they had become sinners by seeking to be justified in Christ, Paul would admit in the sense that they had become violators of law, but deny what the Judaizers would affirm, that this was equivalent to saying that they had become actual sinners, wrongdoers, violators of God's will."

his opponents:

Moreover, the context also attests to the fact that Paul wants to show Peter to what consequences his conduct leads; he wants to bring to his consciousness the either-or. . . . Thus v. 17 cannot be an objection of the opponents, but Paul here articulates for them and at the same time shows them in all its absurdity the result of their conduct. Therefore, the εἰ εὐρέθημεν ἁματωλοῖ is synonymous with the εἰ γὰρ-δὲ νόμου δικαιοσύνη v. 21. It characterizes the situation of man under the Law, that a Law is for ἁματωλοῖ.²⁰

V. 18 is a kind of parenthesis, as Bultmann says.²¹ It picks up again the thought from v. 16 which makes clear the either-or situation which exists between Christ and the Law. Building up and tearing down are mutually exclusive--in fact, contradictory--undertakings. But the central point here is the fact that it is precisely the Law which was once torn down and is now supposedly being built up again. As Bultmann shows: ". . . my building up again of the Law would be proof of the fact that I am a παραβῆτης, that I am still stuck in sin. For only where there is παράβασις is there Law; where there is no Law, there there is no παράβασις (Rom. 4:15). Where no Law but grace reigns, there there is no ἁμαρτία (Rom.

²⁰Bultmann, "Zur Auslegung," p. 43. In regard to the polemical purpose of Paul here one could ask what the objective was which Paul had in mind when he posed the problem or stated the either-or alternatives so forthrightly and unequivocally. As has been suggested above, D. Georgi, "Einwände und Exegetische Anmerkungen," in Christusbekenntnis in Altzeit (München: Kaiser, 1959), p. 112 says: "These Jewish Christians surely had also spoken of faith. . . ." This poses the question, which is discussed above (cf. pp. 97-98): were these opponents combining faith (their understanding of it, of course) and Law? If that is so, then Paul's polemic here is at least in part aimed at disengaging the two and showing that they are antithetical opposites.

²¹Ibid., p. 43: "v. 18 is a parenthesis which does not prove the entire thought of v. 17 but only the statement

6:14).²² If the Law was torn down to give place to Christ, then to build up again that Law is to remove Christ. This is precisely the thought of v. 16, which thought Paul rejects with the emphatic *μη γένοιτο*. In other words, this is an elaboration upon v. 17; it is a kind of rephrasing of the thought--that is, of a part of the thought--of that verse, a kind of a parenthesis.

But if v. 18 is a parenthesis it is also more than a mere rephrasing of something already stated. The notion of tearing down and rebuilding, of going back on what has once been done, if cast into the framework of this context and especially into the frame of reference of personal conduct which is part of this context, is reminiscent of Paul's description of Cephas and his charge against him in 2:11-14.²³ However, in addition to that, this verse also seems to be more than a simile on the Law-Christ antithesis with a garnish of polemic on the Peter episode at Antioch. It seems also

²²Ibid., p. 45.

²³Cf. also the commentaries of Schlier, Burton, Lietzmann, et al., where allusions to the preceding context and the "Cephas affair" are also seen. By his action Cephas showed that the Law for him still was more than an adiaphoron, or at least he was suggesting this by his action to the Gentile Christians in Antioch (and elsewhere). There is a longer discussion of this matter in W. Schmithals, Paul and James (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 63-78. Presumably Paul would have consented here to submission to circumcision on the basis of a free choice, on the basis that it is not something one must do but something one may do. This seems to be the point of the *ἀναγκάζειν* in v. 14. In 5:6 and 6:15 Paul explicitly says this, that one may be circumcised but one is just as well off being uncircumcised. Cf. also 5:1. See also the next note below for a longer discussion of the question of "compelling" in this passage and the entire epistle.

to refer to 2:3-5 and the event described there, especially if on the basis of the so-called Western text and other evidence from the context we conclude that Titus was in fact circumcised.²⁴ That

²⁴For a discussion of Paul's "still preaching circumcision" cf. below, pp. 198-212. The chief tie between 2:3-5 and 2:11-14 is the question of compulsion expressed in both sections by the ἀναγκάζειν. When someone is compelled to do something--in this case to observe the Law or an aspect of it--he shows himself to be subservient to that which compels him (cf. 4:3-7, where submission to the Law is linked to or implies slavery to the "elements of the world": R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting (New York: World, 1956), pp. 154-155. Cf. also 5:1ff.) But if Christ has freed from this compulsion (=slavery, 5:1); then a return to it is an abrogation or renunciation of Christ as well as of the freedom he has given (5:2ff.). The point here is clearly the compulsion or "slavery", especially since it is antithetical to Christ, and not any specific act such as circumcision.

The idea of "compelling circumcision" is repeated in 6:12; there also it is reprehensible. But the important fact there is that only three verses later Paul again also repeats that circumcision itself is not reprehensible--no more so than the lack of it: he who is uncircumcised is not thereby better off or superior to the circumcised. Thus it must be the "compelling" which is objectionable.

What about the "Cephas affair"? In 2:14 Paul accuses Cephas of ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν. This expression is parallel to the ἀναγκάζουσιν περιτέμνεσθαι in 6:12 (although, to be sure, Paul is not here saying that Cephas was compelling circumcision, despite the fact that that might have been the eventual outcome of the whole affair.) Thus we must proceed by asking whether it was the ἀναγκάζειν or the ἰουδαΐζειν to which Paul was protesting. On the basis of the parallelism to 6:12 we must answer that there is strenuous protest against the "compelling" to be found in this expression. However, in view of the present (Galatian) controversy it would seem to be fair to assume that Paul is also objecting to the ἰουδαΐζειν. But precisely what is meant by this term is not totally clear, either in this context or in its general usage, and that in spite of the fact that some seem to assume its transparency (e.g. Lietzmann does not even discuss the term). In view of the high degree of syncretism to be found in the Judaism of Paul's time with its consequent diversity of practice, to say as Schlier does that ἰουδαΐζειν means "to participate in. . . the Jewish way of life" is really to say very little. Cf. Gutbrod, "Ἰουδαϊσμός" in G. Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmann, 1969), III, 370ff. where there is a reasonably thorough discussion of this term which also succeeds in indicating some of the diversity and breadth in the meaning and usage of this term; also

could indeed be understood as Paul building up again something which had been torn down, namely the Law as epitomized or exemplified in the rite of circumcision.²⁵ W. Mundle has described v. 18 as a "turning the accusation back upon the opponents." By way of further elaboration he adds a paraphrase: ". . . not we, but you are παραβάται τοῦ νόμου because there can be talk of transgression only under the dominion of the Law, thus only then if I build up again that which I through my becoming a Christian have torn down."²⁶ This can be accepted only if it is correctly understood, as Mundle seems to have done, namely that v. 17 is not the opponents' polemic against Paul which he in v. 18 turns back upon them; but rather v. 17 is Paul's own leading of his opponents to the absurdity of their own position by means of his own polemic.

In v. 19 we find the proof or the substantiation for v. 17,

F. V. Filson, "Judaizing", Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible II, 1005-6; A. T. Kraabel, "Judaism in Western Asia Minor. . . at Sardis, Lydia" (unpublished Dissertation Harvard, 1968), p. 186, refers to Ignatius, Smyr. 6:1, "It is better to hear Christianismos from someone who has circumcision, than to hear Ioudaismos from someone uncircumcised." This is essentially a Pauline position. Very possibly Paul is here repeating what he had said earlier, namely that he submitted not out of compulsion but out of his freedom in Christ, and thus he was not in fact "building up again that which he tore down."

²⁵What must also be noticed in v. 18 is the change from the plural ("we") of the preceding verses to the singular ("I") in this and the following verses. We find a similar change from the plural to the singular in Romans 7. For which cf. W. G. Kümmel, Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929), esp. pp. 9-13, 74-138; and R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul," Existence and Faith (New York: Meridian, 1960), pp. 147-157.

²⁶Wilhelm Mundle, "Zur Auslegung von Gal. 2,17-18," Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXIII (1924), 152-153.

as Bultmann has persuasively argued:

The ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον says--no matter how the διὰ νόμου is to be understood--in any case: 'For the Law I am dead.' Precisely this assertion underscores the impossibility of being found to be sinners (v. 17); 'to be found a sinner' means nothing else than: 'to stand under the Law'. Just as in v. 15 the ἐπιστεύσαμεν is characterized in respect to its meaning by the final clause ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν . . . so in v. 19 the ἐγὼ . . . νόμῳ ἀπέθανον by the ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω . . . In fact, both the main and the final clauses are essentially parallel: believing means to die to the Law; to be justified means to live for God. . . . The ἐγὼ γὰρ . . . ἀπέθανον, ἵνα . . . ζήσω is essentially identical with the plain Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι .²⁷

In addition to this Bultmann also points to Gal. 3:13 as a parallel to the "διὰ νόμου" of this verse and says: "Christ is brought to the cross by the νόμος, since he was crucified for sins; he who is crucified with him, therefore, has also died to the Law διὰ νόμου."²⁸ But in addition to the parallelism with 3:13 there is also another--an equally important one--in 4:4-5. And this parallelism with 4:4-5, in turn, as Bultmann has correctly intimated, brings an association to christology. There is, in short, a relationship or correlation between christology and self-understanding. What Bultmann has not noted, however, is that this phrase "διὰ νόμου"--precisely because it is parallel to 3:13 (and then to 4:4-5 as well)--is part of Paul's polemic, inserted

²⁷Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

²⁸Ibid. Schlier correctly sees an allusion to baptism in this expression. However, his dependence upon Rom. 7:7ff. as a parallel for interpreting this passage is to be questioned. His use of Rom. 7:4 is somewhat more fortunate. Although he sees no hint of polemic in Paul's words here, Schlier does recognize the use of irony. Oepke's reference to resurrection with Christ is impossible.

here at a crucial point and directed squarely at the heart of the message of his opponents, namely, at their christology and at the self-understanding which corresponded to it.²⁹ Thus for Paul the Law retains its historical value, even if it no longer retains its validity for conduct and salvation. In other words, as we shall see, Paul is spelling out a position for himself which is the converse of that of his opponents. For him the Law possesses a positive historical value while it no longer plays any positive (and probably for his opponents, mythological) role for the Christian in his present (spiritual) existence.

V. 20 represents a continuation and elaboration not only of the christological emphasis of the preceding verse, but also in the sense that it spells out in more precise terms the correlation between christology and self-understanding in Paul's theology. Whether the negation of the emphatic ἐγώ is intended polemically is not certain and, relatively speaking, is unimportant. However, the clause ὁ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί does seem to have a real polemical intention. From the preceding verse we learn that Paul considers himself to be living τῷ θεῷ. Here we learn that this "living to God" is at the same time a living ἐν σαρκί. This fact together with the combining, as Paul also does here, of the living ἐν σαρκί with living ἐν Χριστῷ (ἐν πίστει...τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ...ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ) amounts to an emphatically positive evaluation of ζῆν ἐν σαρκί. This seems to be more than a casual or coincidental formulation,

²⁹There is, of course, also a parallel between this phrase and its recurrence in a polemical way in 2:21. Cf. above, p. 133-134 and below pp. 141 n. 33.

especially coming as it does in this heavily polemical context and coming within the context of debate with a group of "spiritualizers."³⁰ Likewise the christology articulated in this verse seems to have a polemical point to it, having as parallels both 1:4 and 5:26-6:2. 1:4 is a direct christological parallel, containing even verbal similarities.³¹ Coming where it does and containing as it does the implication of Christ's "giving himself. . . ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ . . . πονηροῦ , this seems clearly to bear polemical connotations.³² 5:26-6:2 is a parallel in self-understanding, with the self-surrender of the Christian existence being correlated to the christological self-giving.³³

2:21 is essentially a repetition and reemphasis of what has already been said, especially in v. 17.³⁴

Thus there are themes and emphases which unify the entire

³⁰On the gnostic evaluation of physical existence, cf. H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 55-56 and passim. On the phrase ζῆν ἐν σαρκί , cf. H.D. Betz, Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1967) pp. 182-183.

³¹Cf. Schlier, op.cit., who notes the parallelism.

³²Burton, op.cit., esp. pp. 13-15. However, limitation in the scope of this study do not allow me to do more than state that his observation that this statement of Paul is polemical (1:4) is correct, but that the reasons he gives must be questioned.

³³This passage (5:26-6:2) also seems to be polemical Cf. below, pp. 231-250 , where this is argued more fully.

³⁴Cf. above, p. 73, where it is noted that v. 17 seems to be an instance of Paul polemically leading his opponents to the absurdity of their position. For more discussion of this passage, cf. H. Koester, " ΓΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ , " Harvard Theological Review, LVIII (1965), 284-286, 307-309.

section 2:15-21 and tie it to both the preceding and the following contexts. If the preceding sections (1:1-2:10) contain, at least in part, Paul's apologetic,³⁵ and if the section 2:15-21 is primarily Paul's polemical counter-attack against his opponents, then the question about the section 2:11-14 looms larger. Is that section primarily apologetic or is it polemical? Formally it seems to be a continuation of the preceding sections, a continuation of the narration of the events which led up to and were involved in the split between Paul and the Jewish Christians. That this is a continuation of that narration can be seen from the adverb "ὅτε" with which v. 11 begins. V. 15 represents a breaking off of that narration and a shifting into what appears to be an address by Paul to the Galatians, to the readers of the epistle. And yet there seem to be some ties which bind 2:15-21 rather closely to 2:11-14 and the preceding. What Paul seems to be saying in vv. 11-14 is that Peter's conduct, not his own, was to be reproached.³⁶ Vv. 15-21 then seem to be spelling out the implications of such conduct, with

³⁵So argued by Marxsen, op.cit., p. 47: "it needs to be remembered that Paul does not mention these facts (of chs. 1-2) for a biographical, but for an apologetic purpose."

³⁶Some valuable information regarding the background of Peter's actions, indeed, of this entire series of events leading up to and culminating in that confrontation at Antioch, is available. Schmitz, op.cit., has a long discussion (chapter III, entitled "The Unfortunate Incident in Antioch") on this, especially devoting much attention to what might have been the background of Peter's actions and conduct. Georgi also has a discussion of some of this, referring especially to 1 Thessalonians, the document which originates in the period of time closer to the events described in Gal. 2:1-14 than any other of Paul's epistles. D. Georgi, Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965), pp. 32-35.

Paul first setting up the either-or and then concretizing it with references to christology and to self-understanding.

More specifically, 2:11-14 seems to be a continuation of the narration by Paul of former events which are now relevant to the present situation. 2:15-21 seems to be discussion, an explicit elaboration, of why those events are important now. If vv. 15-16 formulate the either-or state of affairs between Christ and the Law, then v. 17 is a continuation of the polemical initiative which Paul had already seized in the fore-going verses. That is, in v. 17 Paul attempts to lead his opponents ad absurdum (more precisely, he is showing the Galatians the inevitable outcome, the absurdity, the impossibility of the opponents' position), to show the impossibility of maintaining a "both/and" position regarding Christ and the Law. V. 18 is a parenthesis which elaborates upon that absurdity from one specific perspective, together with what is probably also a polemical reminiscence upon the conduct of Cephas (vv. 11-14).³⁷ Vv. 19-21 pick up again and elaborate upon the reference to christology in v. 17, v. 21 being a most specific reflection back to v. 17. This christological motif, in turn, also ties these verses to the following, 3:1-5, where christology has implication for present (spiritual) experience and existence.

³⁷So also Georgi, Ibid., p. 33: "The Antioch falling out destroyed the relationship of trust which had been created anew in Jerusalem. Paul ascribes the guilt for the estrangement to the Jewish-Christians who participated in it. In my opinion Gal. 2:11ff. contains between the lines the reproach that the Jewish-Christians had broken the Jerusalem agreement."

B. Galatians 3:1-5, General Considerations

For many years the role of these verses for the historical background and polemics of this epistle went virtually unrecognized. Lütgert had argued very strenuously that they had great bearing on those issues. We find him referring again and again to these verses as proof that (for him one group of) Paul's opponents considered themselves to be "πνευματικοί". In more recent years the arguments of Lütgert have been "rediscovered."³⁸ This, then, calls for a reexamination of this section together with a reevaluation of its role in the epistle and of the situation which preceded and elicited the epistle.

In addition to what Lütgert argued was the self-designation of the opponents (πνευματικοί) we find other important facts which bear heavily upon the Galatians situation: 1) what is obviously Paul's polemic against his opponents' linking Law and Spirit (as well as faith and christology). This, of course, is a point with which Paul has already dealt in the fore-going section. Here, however, he elaborates upon this linking of Law and pneuma. 2) From these verses we can also see that Paul himself makes a close connection between christology and pneuma. In v. 2 Paul ties the reception of the Spirit to "the hearing of Faith", which, in turn, implies the object of faith, namely, Christ.³⁹ Thus, 3) Paul shares

³⁸Most especially by Schmithals, albeit with his refinements, of course. Cf. above, pp. 79-80.

³⁹Cf. 2:16 and Bultmann, Theology, para. 35,1.

with his opponents an emphasis on pneuma. Paul can agree that a Christian is a "pneumatikos" (6:1); where he differed with his opponents was that for him the spiritual existence was controlled or directed by his concept of faith and his understanding of christology, both of which were in tension with what was implied by pneuma as it was employed and emphasized by Paul's opponents.⁴⁰ 4) Corresponding to this, Paul actually warns the Galatian Christians about a possible loss of the Spirit--precisely because of their Law observances (vv. 3-4).

Verse 1: " Ὡς ἀνόητοι Γάλαται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν" This statement, so obviously charged with emotion, is in keeping with the address--or rather, the lack of part of it!⁴¹--at the top of the

⁴⁰Thus in 3:2 the " ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως " serves to do more than merely specify the origin of spirit-possession. By specifying the origin it thereby also qualifies or modifies what is now possessed, the Spirit. Paul did not understand man as being partly "Spirit" and partly something else (either "flesh" or "body"), cf. *Ibid.*, para. 17 and 18,2-3. Whether these opponents did so is not totally clear. As we see from 6:1, being "spiritual" did not remove one from concrete ethical (historical) responsibility, which presumably was true of his opponents (cf. also 5:15). Quite to the contrary, for Paul faith, as obedience (*Ibid.*, para. 35,1), and christology, which emphasized historical realities, especially the cross (2:19, 3:1), bore in upon or controlled the self-understanding implicit in "Spirit" or "spiritual existence."

The way in which faith and christology temper or control Paul's understanding of pneuma and the Christian's existence in the Spirit is similar and closely related to the role played by the so-called "eschatological reservation," described by Robinson, "Kerygma and History," pp. 122-123. Bultmann describes faith as being simultaneously "hope" (*Ibid.*, para. 35,3) and "fear" (*Ibid.*, para. 35,4), both of which have essentially the same intention or value as the "eschatological reservation." (Cf. 5:5, where "Spirit", "faith" and "hope" are all linked together. Cf. also below p 163 , esp. n.78 .

⁴¹More precisely, the element common to most Pauline epistles which is missing in Galatians is the "thanksgiving", which omission

epistle. This is apparently a heavily freighted statement.⁴² In 5:7 Paul says: τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν . Paul often interjects such vocative expressions as this more or less spontaneously into the middle of his epistles: Phil. 2:12, 4:1; 1 Cor. 10:14, 15:58; 2 Cor. 6:11, 12:19. This one is unique, however, not only because of the fact that it is the only pejorative among them, but also because of its form. This, of course, corresponds to the form at the top of the epistle.

After this emotional address the train of thought from the preceding (2:21) is picked up again. This quick--and abrupt!--return to and emphasis upon christology indicates that in Paul's estimation the real danger ("bewitching") of the opponents' preaching threatens this quarter of theology, i.e. the center of his own preaching.⁴³ Here Paul has sharpened his own christological state-

has been frequently noted, most recently by R. W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutic and Word of God (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 256-257, with reference there to other secondary literature.

⁴²For "ἀνόητοι" cf. Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) It occurs in Corp. Herm. I, 23, in a statement by Poimandres, the revealer, in which he dissociates himself from the "foolish" (ἀνόητοι) and others but identifies himself with "the holy and good, the pure and merciful, the pious" and deprecates the activities of the senses and of the body. Cf. C.H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 174. In C. H. I, 20 and 22 the expression "ὁ οὗτος" is a derogatory address. On βασκαίνω see Bauer, op.cit., Delling, in Kittel, op.cit. I, 594-595; Burton, op.cit.

⁴³The "οἷς...προεργάσθην" appears to be a very graphic(!) and dramatic metaphor used by Paul to describe his own preaching. Cf. Bauer: "set forth in public proclamation." The placing of the "ἐσταυρωμένος" in the emphatic position seems to call for this interpretation. Paul G. Bretscher, "Light from Gal. 3:1 on Pauline Theology," Concordia Theological Monthly (1963), 81, argues that

ment, emphasizing as it does the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, to a polemical point.⁴⁴ This in itself also already indicates that the preaching of Paul's opponents must have contained a christology of its own.⁴⁵ The fact that christology with its connections to and implication for the present existence of the Christian is involved in this struggle probably accounts for the high emotion in Paul's words in this verse.

these words are to be taken literally as meaning that Paul held before their eyes the scrolls of the LXX. That Paul presumably made reference to the Scriptures as part of his preaching can be assumed. This is part of the methodology he employs in his epistles (e.g. Gal. 3:6ff.). Why would it not have been his sermonic style? Furthermore, that this debate is in part at least one revolving around the Scriptures is a fact which can be relinquished only at the expense of making sense out of the issues involved.

⁴⁴This has not been noticed by Schlief, who apparently attaches no polemical importance to this statement. Cf. 1 Cor. 2:2, where Paul similarly emphasizes the crucifixion. On that passage, cf. H. Conzelmann, Der Erste Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1969); U. Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit (Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), pp. 214-215, also 222, where he also makes some provocative suggestions as to the parallelism between the Corinthian and Galatians passages: "That in his discussions Paul consistently also had in mind Jewish theology can readily be shown. In fact, 1 Cor. 1f. corresponds essentially to the discussions on justification in Romans and Galatians. . . . We find here the same structures and above all the same central point of reference: the cross of Christ. . . . It would in fact not be difficult to show that the assertion of Paul, namely that the preaching of the cross strikes the gnostic in the same manner as it strikes Jewish theology, is valid." Cf. also H. Braun, "Exegetische Randglossen zum 1. Korintherbrief," in his Gesammelte Studien (Tübingen: Mohr, 1967), pp. 178-181, who sees a linking or paralleling of the concepts "νόμος" and "σοφία" through the mediating concepts "κόσμος" and "σάρξ".

⁴⁵Koester, op.cit., pp. 286, 307f. In this programmatic essay Koester offers some very general suggestions regarding the christology --indeed, the entire "underlying theological problem"--of the opponents of Paul by means of inference from Paul's statements: "(they) must have assigned a particular role to Jesus. . . ."

Verse 2: Here again Paul picks up the either/or categories for his argumentation. He reasserts the theme and mode of debate employed earlier. Since 2:16 above has indicated the connection between faith and Christ, this verse, obviously building upon that one in several ways, adds a new element to the discussion, namely, the Spirit. If, as has been plausibly argued, the heretics had made or suggested a connection between Christ and the Law,⁴⁶ then this verse indicates that they had also made or suggested an association between Law observance and Spirit possession.⁴⁷ The Galatian heretics were pneumatics.⁴⁸ This has been deduced from this passage as well as from other parts of the epistle.⁴⁹ But then, as these

⁴⁶K. Wegenast, Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), p. 38: "... it is now significant that for the Galatian heresy Christ also stands in a positive connection to the Law, yes, that for them Christ is the definitive revelation." Wegenast elaborates upon this by saying that this is what he understands the opponents to have meant by the expression "the Law of Christ." Cf. also Georgi, "Einwände," pp. 111-12. Also Koester, op.cit., p. 307: "Such a Gospel must have been a call for obedience to the law as the cosmic rule of God (perhaps: revealed through Christ)."

⁴⁷For Paul the proper role of the Law is discussed later in Ch. 3 (and will be discussed below, pp. 154-155). Vv. 24-25 contain an especially poignant--and frequently baffling!--treatment of the role of the Law in the history of salvation. There, after a rehearsing of the antithesis between Law and faith (esp. v. 23), Paul indicates that the Law does not bring any positive benefits, but only domination as a child under a "παιδαγωγός". That the word "παιδαγωγός" does not indicate some kind of (gentle) tutelage (KJV: "schoolmaster") is well expressed by Schlier. The word is well attested in ancient literature: cf. Bertram, in Kittel, op.cit., V, 618 f. Schlier, op.cit.; Bauer, op.cit.

⁴⁸So Georgi, Die Geschichte, p. 35, going back to Lütgert, and Schmithals.

⁴⁹Especially 6:1, where Paul in referring to the "πνευματικοί" is probably using a term of self-designation of his opponents.

passages show, so was Paul himself. The issue at stake as stated by Paul and with which the Galatians (and presumably also the opponents) would apparently agree is not whether they should or should not be, become or remain such pneumatics. On the contrary! The issue is: how did (does) it happen that a person becomes a "πνευματικός"? It is here that the either/or set up by Paul can most clearly be seen as a polemical barb aimed at what is apparently the opponents' combining of the Law with Spirit possession--and thus also with their concepts of faith and christology as they related to personal existence. Nowhere does Paul challenge the desirability of being in possession of the Spirit. Rather, as 3:3 shows, he can actually turn the argument on his opponents, using Spirit-possession as a positive factor in his own favor while negating his opponents' position and warning them about the possibility of losing the Spirit. For Paul, as he has said above (2:16), the Law and faith are incompatibly opposed to one another. If as Bultmann has argued, the point of 2:15-18 is Paul's spelling out of the antithetical nature of Law and faith and if that section is, as Bultmann also suggests, not Paul's defense against an accusation of his opponents but his own polemical formulation of their position and its implications, then it seems that this verse must be understood accordingly.

"ἔργα νόμου" (3:2) is an expression which occurs six times in Galatians, only twice elsewhere in Paul's epistles--both in the same immediate context of Romans (3:20, 28; cf. 4:2, 6)--and nowhere else in the New Testament. This would suggest that we cannot look

too hopefully to other passages to gain an understanding of this expression in this context. Rather, this epistle itself, perhaps together with reference to Rom. 3-4, apparently holds the key to its own meaning and to our understanding of it as it is used here.

First of all, it is significant that five of the six occurrences in Galatians are to be found in 2:16 and 3:1-5, while the sixth is only several verses removed (3:10), appearing in the center of the extended discussion on the Law. This expression seems, at least at first glance, to be an intimate part of the specific facet of the debate on which these verses focus their attention. Where does this expression originate? Did Paul himself formulate it? Was it formulated by his opponents and picked up here by Paul? Or is it possible that Paul and his opponents have appropriated it from current usage? This is the opinion of Ernst Käsemann,⁵⁰ who correctly points to the parallelism between Gal. 2:16 and Rom. 3:20. However, the basis for Käsemann's conclusion on the origin of this expression might be questioned. He takes note of the fact that it is found in but one passage in later Judaism (II Bar. 57:2), and that in the expression "works of the commandments." However, "works" is widely attested in the literature of later Judaism. On the basis of an extended study⁵¹ Ernst Lohmeyer has drawn the following conclusion about the term "works":

⁵⁰As found in class notes on Rom. 3:20.

⁵¹E. Lohmeyer, "Gesetzeswerke," in his Probleme Paulinischer Theologie (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1955), pp. 31-74.

Thus Paul's language assigns to the concept work an absolutely definite meaning; it means service which man performs and always must perform anew to the Law. In it then is definitely to be found the motif of the abiding task, but not the question of fulfilling or not fulfilling the Law. . . . Thus also these statements (Gal. 2:16, 3:10) confirm the previously discovered meaning of the expression ἔργα νόμου ; it means the 'service of the Law' as the religious ordering which is placed upon man.⁵²

Even considering at least one occurrence of the precise expression at Qumran⁵³ and a pair of more oblique occurrences in Test. XII Patr. (Levi 19:1, Naph. 2:6), the attestation of the expression is not firm. It is unknown in Rabbinic sources.⁵⁴

The fact that Paul uses this expression not only here but also elsewhere is instructive. This fact must be taken into consideration in attempting to determine both the origin of the expression as well as its meaning. That it is found also in Romans tends to suggest that it does have meaning and usage broader than the confines of this debate. More importantly, however, it also gives the opportunity of making a contrast. It is employed only here and in the second half of chapter three and beginning of chapter four of Romans. That fact is not noted by Käsemann nor is explanation given by the commentators, although the parallelism between Gal. 2:16 and Rom. 3:20 has been observed. Indeed, the similarities between the entire contexts in the two epistles should not be overlooked, especially the highly similar discussions of Abraham, complete with several of

⁵²Ibid., pp. 66-67.

⁵³Cf. below, pp. 53-54 , esp. n. 57.

⁵⁴H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. (München: Beck; 1954), III, 160.

the same Old Testament quotations. However, the differences should also not be overlooked. While in Rom. 3:20 (as also in Gal. 2:16) it is "righteousness" which is not gained "ἐξ ἔργων νόμου", here (Gal. 3:2, 5) it is "the Spirit" which is not gained "ἐξ ἔργων νόμου". Furthermore, Gal. 3:10 (ὅσοι γὰρ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἰσὶν, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσὶν) presents a much stronger and more pointed (polemical) statement in rejection of the Law than is found anywhere in Romans. (Compare, for example, Rom. 3:20 -- διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ). The specific, explicit mention of the 'curse', not found in Romans, marks a most significant difference between the two passages. Gal. 3:13, which makes the christological connection with the 'curse' explicit and specific, is also of central importance in Paul's argumentation against his opponents. That the death of Jesus Christ is again emphasized in 3:13 is, of course, no accident or coincidence.⁵⁵ That the heretics and Paul might have used this expression in their own specially-interpreted way is, of course, a distinct possibility--if not, in fact, a probability. Thus, in addition to asking what its meaning was in more general usage, it is also both legitimate and necessary to ask what those opponents might have understood by their Law observance for which this expression is here used as well as asking what Paul himself might have meant by this and related expressions used in this debate.

⁵⁵Cf. above, pp. 146-147, esp. n. 44, for a discussion of Paul's emphasis on the death of Jesus Christ, esp. in this epistle.

In the Qumran scrolls, where Torah is a central and broadly understood term, there is some evidence that this expression (מַעֲשֵׂי חֹרֶה) is "perhaps a technical expression for cultic and ceremonial acts."⁵⁶ In the one passage where its attestation is clear it seems to refer specifically to sacrifices.⁵⁷ In addition there is other support for linking the expression "works of the Law" with the more restricted sphere of cultic activity.⁵⁸ However,

⁵⁶This is the judgment of Professor Wm. H. Brownlee, relayed to me in a letter in September, 1967.

⁵⁷4Qflor I, 7. Cf. J. M. Allegro, "Fragments of the Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrashim," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXVII (1958), 350-354. Allegro translates the Hebrew as "works of the Law." Brownlee concurs in that translation.

¹ QpHab 12, 5 refers to the simple ones who keep the Law and contrasts them to the Wicked Priest who "commits abominable deeds and defiles the Temple of God" in Jerusalem. However, the "technical term" is not present. The priestly character of this community and its Law observance can be seen in a passage such as 1 QS 5, 2 where all who join are characterized as being "under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests, who keep the Covenant." Entrance into the community and covenant can also be described in this context as "circumcision" (of the foreskin of his inclination and stiff neck).

⁵⁸As has been suggested, it is unlikely that this expression was coined or created by Paul's opponents. It is either Paul's own creation or he (and his opponents) has picked it up from current usage. Thus, the question is, which is more likely? (It should, of course, be borne in mind that it is not altogether implausible that even if it was Paul's creation, it might be an accurate reflection of what his opponents were saying and advocating.) Evidence for this expression being a terminus technicus--or at least a widely used and understood expression with restricted meaning--is not extensive. In addition to the Qumran passage, that from Apoc. Bar. is less clear and that it holds the restricted implication of cultic acts is even dubious. Lohmeyer, op.cit., pp. 38-39, has suggested that the "origin of the 'works of the Law' can be sought" in the directions for priests and Levites and cult service. "... the Genitive suggests a definite circle of activity," which Lohmeyer says in reference to expressions such as "ἔργα τῆς σκηνῆς" or "τῆς λειτουργίας" or "τῆς θυσίας". While remaining cautious about drawing any binding or definitive conclusions, Lohmeyer does suggest:

tempting it might be to find here a "solution" to the problem of the legalism of Paul's Galatian opponents, this would probably amount to a jumping to conclusions which are no more than possible--far from certain! While there is some evidence, one clear and direct parallel and some very indirect ones together with the internal evidence of the Epistle to the Galatians itself hardly represents the kind or amount of support needed to "solve" this problem.

Apparently Paul has a broader understanding of "Law" than his opponents. That Paul was both pointing this out and endeavoring to prove his own position seems to be the inference to be drawn from the Deuteronomy quotation regarding the "curse" in 3:10⁵⁹ as well as

"Then precisely this Law emposed the cultus and from the very beginning is the basic Law, on which also the regulation of the national and religious life was first founded."

Furthermore, Bertram, "Ἔργον", in Kittel, *op.cit.*, II, 645, notes the "common use of ἔργα for cultic practices. . . ."

Finally, the argumentation taking place in the background of the Epistle to the Galatians and, of course, in the epistle itself could be seen as lending support to the suggestion that this is a terminus technicus for cultic acts or ceremonies, especially circumcision, but including also certain feasts or cult days. However, that procedure would, to say the least, be a risky form of circular reasoning. But what is of greater significance is the fact that in the other context in which Paul uses this expression, that of the Epistle to the Romans, it is obviously also paralleled to the cultic act of circumcision. The expression "ἔργα νόμου" is, in fact, interchangeable with "περιτομή" as we see when we place the two passages, Rom. 4:2-3 and 4:9-10 side-by-side.

⁵⁹The fact that Paul replaces the "τοῖς λόγοις" of the Lxx text of Deut. 27:26 with the more expansive "τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ" is seen by Bretscher, *op.cit.*, p. 82, as indication of the fact that both Paul and the opponents were attempting to persuade the Galatians--and thus were arguing with one another--on the basis of the book. A study of the history of the transmission of the Deuteronomy passage is required before conclusions such as that of Bretscher can be reached.

from the statements in 5:3 (on doing the whole Law) and 6:13 (his opponents themselves do not even keep the Law). At the same time, however, Paul apparently also shared in some fashion or other with his opponents the rather syncretistic understanding of the Law current in Hellenistic Judaism, albeit using this as grist for the mill in his opposition to Law observance. Apparently the opponents were more interested in the ceremonial aspect of the Law, especially circumcision, of course, than in other aspects. Presumably Paul's heavy emphasis on ethical aspects of the Law, especially in chapters 5 and 6, provides additional testimony of the opponents' neglect of such an emphasis. What Paul did not share with his opponents, of course, was the connection between the Law and christology (set forth explicitly in his either-or discussion in 2:15-21) and the Law and Spirit-possession, which is the central feature of his polemic in this and the following verses.

Verse 3. This verse picks up the preceding one, both in respect to the style (the posing of the question) and in respect to the remarkable fact that Paul himself is a "spiritualizer." He shares with the Galatians (did they learn this from Paul himself?) and obviously with the opponents as well as dependence on the Spirit. In fact, Paul actually turns the tables on his opponents and argues that he, Paul, was the one who had led the Galatians to genuine Spirit-possession. He thereby also anticipates or intimates what follows explicitly, namely, the warning or threat that they will lose the spirit if they turn against Paul and his preaching (cf. 4:16,

1:6-9). They, the Galatians, "began in the spirit." This, of course, means under the tutelage of Paul(cf. 1:6, 4:19, 5:7). There is here obviously a play on the two verbs, ἐνάρχῃσθαι and ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Oepke has argued that the latter of these Paul has actually picked up from his opponents. In that case we would have to ask what the word might have implied coming from their lips and what Paul means to say when he uses it here. Schlier has correctly noted that the contrast expressed by the two verbs is more than a temporal one; it includes the idea of becoming perfect, as expressed most especially in the ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Oepke's argument that the opponents had said that the "ἔργα νόμου" were the completion or perfection of the way of faith then gains greater plausibility.⁶⁰

"ἐνάρχῃσθαι" is not a frequently attested word in New Testament usage. Lightfoot argues that this and the accompanying verb, "ἐπιτελεῖσθαι", "are employed of religious ceremonials." He goes so far as to suggest that "it is possible that the idea of a sacrifice may underlie their use here."⁶¹ There can be little doubt that in its more classical sense the word ἐνάρχῃσθαι relates to a religious ritual,⁶² with some evidence that its usage developed

⁶⁰A. Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater (Berlin: Evangelischer Verlagsanstalt, 1960). Schlier, op.cit.

⁶¹J.B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London: Macmillan, 1881).

⁶²J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950) s.v.: "the ritual sense, which underlies this word in classical Greek, may perhaps still be latent in its two New Testament occurrences, Gal. 3:3, Phil. 1:6.

into a terminus technicus at an earlier time.⁶³ One of its more obvious connotations apparently was to rites of initiation.⁶⁴ Burton sees "ἐνάρχεσθαι πνεύματι" as recalling the "ἐλάβετε τὸ πνεῦμα" of v. 2, although here having the emphasis shifted from the verb to the noun, πνεῦμα. He also notes that the antithesis of "beginning. . . completing" is here complemented by that of "spirit. . . flesh", which, in turn, harks back to and in fact replaces (mutatis mutandis, of course) the antithesis of the preceding verse, that of "ἀκοὴ πίστεως... ἔργα νόμου". However, the "ἐνάρχεσθαι πνεύματι" does considerably more than to recall the "ἐλάβετε τὸ πνεῦμα". Although it does that, it also indicates more explicitly the entering into, the "initiation", the beginning of what presumably is thought to be a process or state in which advancement, progress or completion (even if not "perfection") is anticipated.⁶⁵

The second of these two verbs, "ἐπιτελεῖσθαι", is also commonly used "in connection with the performance of religious duties,"⁶⁶ including "commandments" or things that have been enjoined

⁶³Bauer, op.cit.,: "Euripides uses it as a sacrificial terminus technicus."

⁶⁴Thus Pollux 8, 83.

⁶⁵Bauer, op.cit., "begin, make a beginning."

⁶⁶So Moulton, op.cit., s.v. citing the papyri (e.g. P Leid G²¹: ἵνα τυχὼν τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν φιλάνθρωπίας, ἐπιτελῶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν λειτουργίας and P Tebt I. 6⁴⁸: ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων. H. G. Liddel and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961) cite Herod. 2.63 with the meaning: "discharge" (a religious duty), "θυσίας", also P Amh 2.35.50: τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς. Lightfoot, op.cit., argues for the mystery background for these terms, while Dellling, "τέλος, τελέω" in Kittel, op.cit., VIII, 63, n. 5 disagrees. Cf. also Bauer, op.cit.,

upon someone.⁶⁷ Thus, if this expression does come from the opponents, which is most plausible, it very probably also implied or openly suggested a completion or perfection (via their prescribed regimen) which was not otherwise attainable for them (i.e. via Paul's leadership).

However, the contrast expressed by these two verbs as we find them here is surely Paul's own construction, even if borrowed from current usage.⁶⁸ Although the opponents were no doubt suggesting that Paul's Gospel, his formula for salvation, would not lead to perfection, and although they might even have conceded that he had introduced them (the Galatians) to salvation, they would not have suggested and surely would not have stated that Paul had "initiated" the Galatians to the way of salvation.⁶⁹ This is obviously Paul's own polemic, his answer to the charge of his opponents. Thus the irony and sarcasm of his polemic is to be seen not only in the

s.v. with references to Philo, Josephus, etc., also Ep. Diog. 3:5, MPoly 18:3, 1 Clem. 37:2f. and 1 Clem. 3:1, 2:8, 20:10, 40:2f.

⁶⁷In addition to the papyri quoted above, Liddell, *op.cit.*, cites two additional passages from Herod. (1. 115): ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ τασσόμενα, and (1. 157): ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς.

⁶⁸That the two word stems, in one form or another, were used together in the (religious) vocabulary of Paul's day seems to be clear enough. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956, pp. 242, 338-339), if only on the grounds of Paul's own usage in this and two other passages (2 Cor. 8:6, Phil. 1:6).

⁶⁹This seems to be the point of Paul's self-defense in ch. 1, where he argues that not even the "pillars" found any deficiency in his Gospel. This also seems to be the point of the opponents' charge that Paul was pleasing men (1:10) and that he still "preaches circumcision" (5:11--cf. below, pp. 198-212.)

expression "coming to perfection by (with) the flesh,"⁷⁰ but also in the contrast expressed by Paul's use of the two verbs.⁷¹ The way in which Paul has put the issue is intensely and pointedly sarcastic. The opponents no doubt would not have identified Law and flesh, which, of course, is what Paul avers to be the implication of their gospel. Rather, they were in fact linking Law with spirit, possibly even as an escape from or mastery over "the flesh."⁷² In this, then, we can see the deep irony of Paul's argumentation.

⁷⁰That perfection--or even progress--could be achieved "by the flesh" must have been totally foreign, indeed utterly unpalatable, to the Galatian heretics--just as it was to Paul. But Paul has put the matter here in such a way that his opponents must have found themselves in a very difficult position. With this line of argumentation Paul shows himself to be a most formidable opponent.

Furthermore, if Paul has indeed picked up the term "ἐπιτελεῖσθαι" from his opponents, then it is also apparent that he is here giving expression to the "eschatological reservation" which is a most central aspect of his (apocalyptic) theology; cf. E. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in his New Testament Questions of Today (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), pp. 134-137.

⁷¹Thus the "ἐνδρχεσθαι" is Paul's addition to this aspect of the debate, a term with connotations lying on several levels. Paul is very conscious of the prerogatives and position of one who "lays the foundation" (Rom. 15:20f.) or who is not only a task-master/tutor but who is a "father" (1 Cor. 4:14-17) in Christ Jesus. Thus even if he is not borrowing this term directly from mystery terminology (cf. Conzelmann, op.cit., p. 111, n. 12, where secondary literature is cited), Paul is here emphatically suggesting that his position is to be respected. Since one who "begets" others in Christ is to be "imitated", (cf. 1 Cor. 4:14-17, Betz, op.cit., pp. 153ff.) this term seems to have implications for the entire length and breadth of this debate. Both 2 Cor. 8:6 and Phil. 1:6 are often--and correctly--cited as parallels to this passage. The differences should also not be overlooked, especially the spirit emphasis found here.

⁷²Cf. below on the discussion of circumcision, pp. 198-212.

Verse 4. This verse contains another in the series of pointed and pregnant questions which thoroughly color and characterize this section, both in respect to style and content.⁷³ The τοσαῦτα seems to refer to the reception of the Spirit.⁷⁴ What does the ἐνδερε mean? To what does it refer? This seems to be the word that controls the entire sentence. Around it and its meaning revolves the understanding of the sentence as a whole. Schlier says that it has a "neutral" meaning here, presumably implying that it means something more like "experience" than "suffer."⁷⁵ The context seems to support

⁷³On the matter of style and form here, cf. R. Bultmann, Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1910) Since this study showed the high level of similarity and the great number of borrowings in style and form on the part of Paul's epistles over against the diatribe style, it has been natural ever since to look in that direction for answers to questions of style and form in the Pauline epistles. Bultmann does note (e.g. p. 11) that the question is an especially common aspect of the diatribe style as the speaker engages his "opponents" in "debate." Bultmann then further remarks: "Since the diatribe is not dialog but lecture, then it is natural that the rhetorical qualities contained in it are firmly developed." (p. 20) Furthermore, although Bultmann notes that in his argumentation Paul employs irony in depicting his opponents' position just as is done in the diatribe--pointing especially to Galatians (4:9f., 5:12)--he makes no specific mention of this passage. Thus precise analysis of the form and style of this section still remains to be done. (cf. p. 103).

⁷⁴So Schlier, op.cit., Lietzmann, op.cit., etc.

⁷⁵So translated in most modern English versions. However, KJV: "suffer." Bauer, op.cit., s.v.: "experience, be treated--of everything that befalls a person, whether good or ill." Most significantly, however, he adds: "Yet its usage developed in such a way that ἰδοχαιν came to be used less and less frequently in a good sense, and never without some clear indication, at least from the context, that the good sense is meant." He then notes that in the literature to which he is giving attention only Gal. 3:4 exemplifies this usage! (Cf. Michaelis, "ἰδοχαιν" in Kittel, op.cit., V, 904,

this interpretation in that, as just noted, the *τοσαῦτα* seems to refer to "receiving the Spirit" (v. 2) and to the "beginning in the Spirit" (v. 3). Presumably it would also include, indeed imply in view of the fact that this is a plural form, those other events and experiences which for Paul were closely associated with reception of the Spirit, namely, faith, baptism, identification with the death of Christ (cf. 2:19-20), which also implied bearing the "*τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου*" (cf. 6:17, also 6:14!) Thus, for Paul the "*ἐπάθετε*" could, in relation to this, conceivably also mean "suffer," or at least "endure" or "undergo." What, then, does the

911). Moulton, *op.cit.*, s.v. gives what they call the "neutral" sense of this verb, which is "am acted upon," or "experience." With this Burton would agree, saying that the "experiences referred to were not defined as being either painful or otherwise." Lightfoot, however, demurs from such a line of reasoning and advocates the meaning "suffer." He maintains that this "refers to the persecutions endured by them" and cites Gal. 5:11, apparently reasoning that in that passage Paul implies that the Galatians had at one time undergone persecution. He also cites 1 Cor. 15:32, Acts 14:2, 5, 19, 22 and 2 Cor. 1:8, Acts 19:23ff. to indicate that persecution of Christians was common in the regions of Asia Minor and he infers that although Galatia is nowhere explicitly mentioned, "it is improbable that the Galatians alone should have escaped." (Michaelis, *op.cit.*, p. 912, note 57 discounts the possibility of persecution on the basis of the context as well as "the other content of the epistle.") Whether all of this "circumstantial evidence" proves that "*πάσχειν*" here means "to suffer" is almost beside the point. What it does prove which is of importance here is that this could be what Paul refers to here. The question is, does this context (i.e. the entire epistle, including its background) seem to warrant or compel--even permit!--such an interpretation of this verb? Most likely this verb is to be understood on a much broader basis, including possibly persecution but most especially all of those experiences which go to make up Paul's understanding of his own and the Christian's identification with (the crucified!--3:1) Christ (2:19-20, 3:27, 3:13, 6:12-17--where persecution is indeed a factor). Cf. also Betz, *op.cit.*, pp. 182-185, especially 183 and n. 10 with references to other literature.

question, taken as a whole, mean? It would seem obvious enough to suspect that in the context of this series of pointedly polemical (rhetorical) questions this question should also have a polemical intention as well. On the other hand, the meaning or implication of this question seems to be tied to or possibly qualified by the following statement: εἴ γε καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν . Why is this added? Might it obviate any possible polemical reading of the question which precedes it? Or might it actually heighten such polemic? Schlier sees two possible meanings in the statement. On the one hand, he feels that it might be a "confident encouragement" informing the Galatians that "the spirit, which came with the Gospel, did not seize the believer in baptism in order to set his seal upon him and then release him so that he could return to the Law". On the other hand, he suggests that it could be "an obscure threat" in the sense that "a return to the Law is a contempt of this gift and with it of the newly-gained life in Christ."⁷⁶ The second of these alternatives fits the polemical context more aptly, although the former--far from doing violence to that context--could also be implied. At any rate, whether the former or the latter understanding of this

⁷⁶Burton's observation is too superficial when he says that εἴ γε καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν "shows that the question whether these experiences are to be in vain is still in doubt, depending on whether the Galatians actually yield to the persuasion of the judaizers or not." What he says is, of course, true. Yet this statement says--implies--much more than that! Lightfoot reads this statement as implying that "the Apostle hopes better things of his converts." This brings his interpretation and the first option suggested by Schlier close together.

statement is accepted, or both, the polemical-ironic tenor of the context does not appear to be interrupted. Indeed, it actually seems to be heightened, even if in the form of "confident encouragement." Thus in the question which opens this verse Paul carries forward the intention of the fore-going verses. The statement which follows heightens this ever so slightly. Paul here proceeds to go so far as to warn--even if not to threaten--the Galatians about a possible loss of the spirit. That aggressive-polemical aspect of this section⁷⁷ is carried forward in this verse, in both halves.⁷⁸

Verse 5. The aggressive nature of Paul's polemic is carried forward in this verse. This verse is also put as a rhetorical question. It is a close corrolary to the preceding questions; consequently it stands in close connection to them. For that reason

⁷⁷This is in contrast to the apologetic aspect of this section: where did you get the spirit?

⁷⁸The simile of "running well" (5:7) is a return, at that point in the epistle, to this point of emphasis. In fact, the entire section 5:2-12 seems to be a return to or a reemphasizing of much of the thought of this section, especially this verse. There Paul very forth-rightly warns against the loss of Christ. In that section (5:5) where the Spirit is mentioned, it is in association with faith. However, in addition to that the mentioning of the Spirit is also associated with the "eschatological reservation" ("We wait for the hope of righteousness"). This is not to be underestimated. Furthermore, after a repetition in 6a of the traditional formula about "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision", there follows the very important linking of "faith" and "love". This, too, bears great importance in this debate and is picked up again later with elaboration (5:13-6:5), where the implicit or indirect association of "Spirit" and "love" of these verses is made explicit. Also cf. above, p. 145, especially n. 40.

the interpretation of it is also bound up closely with that of the preceding.⁷⁹ But this verse advances beyond the preceding. Part "B" introduces, in an almost casual way, a new and most important element: καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν . Without becoming entangled in the question over the meaning of "δυνάμεις" ⁸⁰ it is here to be assumed that in its form in this verse it simply means "miracles." At the same time it must also be remembered or noted that Paul does not talk about his own miracles--"boasting" as he says (e.g. 2 Cor. 11:18; cf. 12:10). This is borne out in this passage also, first of all in the way in which the subject--miracles--is introduced, i.e. without any elaboration or 'fan-fare,' indeed, almost casually. Furthermore, the subject of the two participles is, of course, God. He is the One who has "guaranteed the Spirit" to the Galatians and who "works miraculous things" in them. The activity of God is implicit throughout this section and carries over into v. 6, where it also is obviously God who "counted Abraham's faith as righteousness. . . ." However, there seems to be more than the activity of God implicit in this verse. If the Spirit is supplied and miracles worked not by works of the Law but by hearing of faith, who was it

⁷⁹Schlier, Lietzmann, Oepke, Burton, have noted that this question in effect repeats v. 2. That is, 5a,c pick up and repeat v. 2.

⁸⁰Cf. the commentaries. Schlier refers to 2 Cor. 12:12 where it is found together with "τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα". In 1 Cor. 12:10 and 12:28f. the "δυνάμεις" are distinguished from "χαρίσματα λαμπρῶν". Burton reasons that "the two participles. . . imply that the apostle has in mind chiefly the charismatic manifestation of the Spirit." Thus, whether the "δυνάμεις" here are to be identified with charisma, to be distinguished from it, or to be associated with it in a looser way is left open, at least for now.

who did the preaching to which the faith was attached? Paul, of course! In other words, there is here not only a circumlocution for God's activity but also a kind of euphemism for Paul's own role in the supplying of the Spirit and the working of miracles.⁸¹

What, then, is the relationship between the "guaranteeing the Spirit" and the "working of miracles"? Are they totally separate, totally co-extensive or only partially so? It seems to be the last of these alternatives which is to be preferred. While it is obvious that there is a relationship between the "ὁ οὖν...πνεῦμα" and the "καὶ ἐνεργῶν...ἐν ὑμῖν", the two are probably not to be read as entirely co-extensive. No complete identification between them

⁸¹This seems to be the reason for Paul's using the expression he does here (ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως) while in other contexts, especially the one most closely parallel to this, Rom. 3-4, he uses the simple "ἐκ (διὰ) πίστεως". It should also be noted that in Rom. 10 he does recognize, indeed, spell out, the preaching-hearing-believing relationship. We can only conclude that Paul here has a specific reason, presumably stemming from the historical circumstances, for including the "ἀκοῆς" in this context.

2 Cor. supplies us with material which sheds light on Paul's way of expressing himself here on the question of miracles. In 11:21 and 30 Paul expresses his reluctance to "boast", and expressly says that he does so only in a very ironic way: ". . . I will boast of the things that show my weakness. . . !" In 12:1-6 he apparently gives in to the circumstances and does in fact boast--but only apparently! As H.D. Betz has shown, vv. 7-10 provide the "climax" to this boasting discussion in the form of an aretalogy which reveals how adept Paul is in the use of irony: ". . . this part of the 'foolish' discourse is another demonstration of Paul's genius. . . . No further objections can be raised against a denial of a cure, because this denial has been experienced in the form of a healing-miracle and in conjunction with an explanatory logion of the exalted Christ. Here we see the working of the same mind which in 2 Cor. 12:1ff. reports an ecstatic rapture and a hearing of 'unspeakable words,' which cannot be communicated precisely for the reason that they are 'unspeakable words.'" H.D. Betz, "Eine Christus-Aretalogie bei Paulus (2 Kor. 12:7-10)," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LXVI. In this passage the "δύναμις" is interpreted paradoxically as "ἀσθένεια".

seems to be called for, and what is more, as has already been suggested, this does not seem to be an accurate reading of the evidence available to us from Paul's own epistles, much as this might have been true in other quarters of early Christianity. Käsemann has argued that one of the more common manifestations of the Spirit was the speaking of prophecy--especially the 'sentences of holy law.'⁸² At this point the question of the "ἐν ὑμῖν" takes on greater importance. Does this mean "in your midst", either with the implication that the Galatians were (passive) witnesses of the miracles or in the sense that they were the recipients or objects of those miraculous events or acts?⁸³ Or does it mean "in you" in the sense of "through

⁸²E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in his *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 91-92. He also argues that in the case of cleavages between various groups in the early church, "it is not enthusiasms as such, but the stamp of different theologies, which is already dividing primitive Christianity. . . . hence the adherents of each at the time of writing must be kept. . . ." p. 89. All of this, then carries us to the very heart of the question involved here--the theology of Paul's opponents and its origin as compared to that of Paul himself. For discussion of this, including the work of Käsemann, cf. above, pp. 99-124. Here let it suffice to say that the hypothesis of an association between Spirit and miracles, especially those relating to ecstasy, is central to Käsemann's understanding of early Christian theology. It is apparent from this passage that Paul is a witness for this. Here he links Spirit and miracle, even though he clearly reveals in another context (cf. above p. 165 and n. 81) an open aversion to dependence on miracle and also seems to be inclined to qualify the understanding of Spirit (cf. above pp. 144, n. 40 and 163n. 78).

⁸³So Schlier, who conjectures that it is reasonable to think primarily of exorcism and adds that if one thinks specifically of this then there might be in the "ἐν ὑμῖν" an "implicit connection" to the βασιλείαν in v. 1: "The Galatians, whose God gave the power over the evil spirits so that they could drive them out, are fascinated by them and have fallen prey to them as soon as they appeared in the form of the Law-preachers." Burton reveals a curious ambiguity when he favors the meaning "among you" for "ἐν ὑμῖν" while at the same time reasoning that the chief miracle-workers were the Galatians themselves.

you", implying that the Galatians themselves (as well as Paul) performed them--at least some of them.⁸⁴ In view of the fact that the "miracles" are here--and elsewhere in early Christianity--associated with the Spirit,⁸⁵ the second of these alternatives seems to be the preferred meaning of "ἐν ὑμῖν".⁸⁶

Thus this verse also reveals Paul to be a "spiritualizer", but one who associates Spirit with faith while divorcing both from Law, in contrast and opposition to his opponents.

⁸⁴So Lightfoot and Oepke, with references to other New Testament passages, esp. 1 Cor. 12:10, 28-29, Rom. 12:6. Lagrange simply offers the alternatives without making a choice: the ἐν ὑμῖν would mean "among you" if the δυνάμεις are external miracles, while it would mean "in you" if the Spirit (he makes the identification between Spirit and miracle) is something internal such as wisdom (e.g. 1 Cor. 12:6ff.)

⁸⁵Cf. above p. 164-6, especially n. 80.

⁸⁶If we are to favor the meaning "in you" in the sense that the Galatians themselves worked some of the miracles themselves, then we must also look again at Paul's way of stating the matter here. His emphasis on God's performing the miracles would presumably amount to a kind of humbling reminder that it was, after all, God who does this.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIO-HISTORICAL NOTES ON GALATIANS 3 AND 4

In the study of the Epistle to the Galatians the matter of "religio-historical" background material is very important. In this epistle a number of terms, items, concepts are to be found which can perhaps adequately be understood only with the light cast upon them from religio-historical inquiry. The purpose here is not to find--or even attempt to find--materials which would demonstrate the existence of a sect or group or movement with precisely (or even approximately) the characteristics of the group of heretics which has just been described in Galatia. Nor is it proposed that the theology of Paul is to be traced back to some "original" source. Rather, the purpose here is to illuminate, at least in a general way, the meaning and significance of these terms and concepts from the background of their meaning and usage in the Hellenistic (especially Jewish) world. From that it might also be possible to catch sight of the nature and depth of the religious syncretism of that world, including that in Jewish circles, with an eye toward suggesting what significance this might have had for the situation which appears to have developed in Galatia.

However, this is not to suggest that it might somehow still be possible to trace a "movement" or to find "the" group which had worked its way into Galatia. Such a desire or expectation to find such (precise) parallels and to trace "movements" might actually

betray a misunderstanding of the actual nature of the Hellenistic world and especially of its religious aspects. Thus it is here presupposed that it might be possible to find parallels or background material which illuminates certain terms or concepts, style or form, but that a characterization of the group of heretics which came to Galatia, while hopefully being enhanced by such religio-historical study, can be completed only by reference to the text of Galatians and to examination of its place in early Christianity.

Now regarding the specific religio-historical questions, the most widely recognized and discussed is, of course, that of the "στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου" (4:3, 8f.). However, there are also others, several of which are perhaps even more important than that one, for example, the matter of "days and months and times and seasons" (4:10), of "slavery" (5:1), and then, of course, the question of Abraham and how he was understood and what importance this had for the self-understanding of the opponents. Initially examination will be made of pagan sources with subsequent reference to Jewish and Christian evidence and sources.

PART 1: PAGAN SOURCES

Franz Cumont has observed that

all writers agree with Firmicus that the pagans worshipped the elementa. Under the term were included not only the four simple substances which by their opposition and blending caused all phenomena of the visible world, but also the stars and in general the elements of all celestial and earthly bodies. . . . (Theology) in many instances was nothing but a religious form

of the cosmology of the period. . . . The rigorous principles of astrology determined its conception of heaven and earth.¹

Thus there was great religious significance associated with the "στοιχεῖα".² That they were associated rather generally with fate, "εἰμαρμένη", is also clear.³ As Rudolf Bultmann has pointed out, this was as true in the mysteries as in Gnosticism.⁴ Of the former Arthur Darby Nock has observed that "rebirth is elaborated by the doctrine of the reconstitution of the new self of the initiate out of the elements. . . ."⁵ Even more interesting are the Mithras

¹F. Cumont, Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (New York: Dover, 1956), 206-207. Prümm denies that in Gal. 4:3, 8 Paul understands by the "elements" the stars, but only the arrangements of the old covenant which have been brought to an end by Christianity. K. Prümm, Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1954), p. 409, n. 3. However, Prümm has noted that the ancient astrological literature contains many enumerations of virtues and vices, much like the ones to be found in the New Testament (p.412).

²So. R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity (New York: World, 1956), pp. 146-155, also with references to other secondary literature especially on p. 225, n. 17. Cf. also F. Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York: Putnam, 1912), especially Lectures IV and V.

³Cf. Bultmann, op.cit., pp. 148, 154-155; Cumont, Astrology and Religion, pp. 69, 120-122; H. D. Betz, "Schöpfung und Erlösung im hermetischen Fragment 'Kore Kosmou'," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LXIII (1966), 177-178, where it is shown that all men, according to K.K., are under the yoke of slavery to "Heimarmene". H. Gressmann, Die hellenistische Gestirnsreligion (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), p. 17 cites a poem of Claudianus (400 AD) in which the god sits and writes eternal laws in which the stars are assigned to their courses, which, says Gressmann, is thus to be thought of as the fate-god with the fate book.

⁴Bultmann, op.cit., p. 154.

⁵A.D. Nock, Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background (New York: Harper, 1964), p. 65, with reference to the period of the empire; secondary literature is cited there.

inscriptions discovered under the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome. There in line I we have what has been demonstrated to be "the first line of an 'incantatio Terrae Matris'."⁶ An especially illuminating example of this is the "salvation" of Lucius by Isis as recorded by Apuleius. After praying to the great goddess, Lucius falls asleep and is visited in a vision by Isis, who identifies herself as "the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements (rerum naturae parens, elementorum omnium domina), the initial progeny of worlds, chief of the powers divine, queen of all that are in hell, the principal of them that dwell in heaven, manifested alone and under one form of all the gods and goddesses." She adds that "at my will the planets (caeli luminosa culmina) of the sky, the wholesome winds of the seas, and the lamentable silences of hell be disposed. . . ." Having asked the goddess for deliverance from his wretched state as an ass, Lucius hears what he must do to gain this deliverance: "Be ready and attentive to my commandments. . . ." By this is apparently meant to perform the cultic acts and ceremony. As a result of his deliverance Lucius is to be indebted to the goddess in the following way:

. . . and know thou this of certainty, that the residue of thy life until the hour of death shall be bound and subject to me;

⁶This is discussed and analyzed by H.D. Betz, "The Mithras Inscriptions of Santa Prisca and the New Testament," Novum Testamentum, X (1968), 64-66, where the incantation of the elements as "an important part of the mystery cults" is discussed. He has also pointed out with reference to Gal. 4:8 that "the polemic against worshipping of the elements of the world as we find it in Galatians and Colossians, shows, however, that an incantation of these elements must have been a possibility within Christian thought as well," p. 65, with references to primary and secondary literature.

and think it not an injury to be always serviceable towards me whilst thou shalt live, since as by my mean and benefit thou shalt return again to be a man. Thou shalt live blessed in this world, thou shalt live glorious by my guide and protection, and when after thine allotted space of life. . . . thou shalt see me. . . . reigning. . . . and thou shalt worship me as one that hath been favorable to thee. And if I perceive that thou art obedient to my commandment and addict to my religion, meriting by thy constant chastity my divine grace, know that I alone may prolong thy days above the time that the fates have appointed and ordained.⁷

Here in addition to noting that "the commandments" of Isis comes to prominence, it should also be observed that this apparently has to do with "chastity" (castimonia)--presumably a rather "ascetic" form of conduct--and that by this means one gains mastery over fate. In

⁷Apuleius, Metamorphoses XI, 4-6 (quoted here from the Loeb Edition with translation by W. Adlington, revised by S. Gaselee). There are valuable discussions of this and related passages from Meta. XI in M. Dibelius, "Die Isisweihe bei Apuleius und Verwandte Initiations-Riten" in his Botschaft und Geschichte (Tübingen: Mohr, 1956), pp. 30-79 and H.D. Betz, Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1967), p. 176, esp. n. 4, where the role of the "praecepta, mandata, imperia deum" in the Isis mysteries is pointed out. On the question of the "στοιχεῖα" in the Hermetic tractate "Kore Kosmou", cf. also Betz, "Schöpfung und Erlösung," esp. pp. 180-186; the role of the "κόσμος" in this cosmic drama is also noticed, pp. 166-167, 181. In Kore Kosmou the "elements" are not associated with evil or darkness but are the "holy and worthy children of the great Father" (§ 62, Betz, p. 181) and are thus, of course, personified (Betz, p. 180). The "elements" are also, in various texts, considered to be evil powers or demons, as e.g. Corp. Herm. IV, 8 and comments by H. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 52-53; Corp. Herm. VI, 4 and comment by Betz, "Schöpfung und Erlösung," p. 181 and n. 147. In C.H. tractate I (Poimandres) we apparently have a combination of traditions which on the one hand picture the "elements" as having a positive (good) role in the creation (§ 8), while on the other hand there is also mention of slavery to "fate" or the planetary gods (§§ 15, 19f.) There is a discussion of this in Nock, op.cit., pp. 98-99 with comparison and contrast being drawn to Gal. 4:3. For consideration of Nock's argument that "in the στοιχεῖα Jewish and planetary ideas meet" (p. 98, n. 4) cf. below, pp. 176-188, esp. pp. 186-7, n. 53.

other words, worship of Isis--keeping of her commandment and what that implies⁸--not only did not necessarily preclude one's worshipping the elements, but the two seem to get along together quite well.⁹

Furthermore, in 4:10 Paul makes reference to the Galatians "observing" (παρατηρεῖσθαι) "days and months and seasons and years". This passage follows immediately upon that in which Paul laments: ". . . . how can you turn back again to the weak and beggarly elemental spirits, whose slaves you want to be once more!" Schmithals has argued that this passage is to be compared to Col. 2:16 and adds that the "true background of such observance" is to be seen from 2:18, where the lowering of oneself to servility and angel worship is the focus of attention. What is more, Schmithals also argues that Paul here does not formulate ad hoc nor does he enumerate

⁸The kind of morality or ethical life which is implied in the "commandment" or religion of Isis can be seen more specifically in Apul., Meta. XI, 23: "Then he brought me. . . . to the next baths, accompanied with all the religious sort, and demanding pardon of the gods, washed me and purified my body according to the custom. . . . and commanded me generally before all the rest to fast by the space of ten continual days, without eating of any beast or drinking of any wine: which things I observed with a marvellous continency." From Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride 2 (351F-352A) we see further that the initiated are put under "a strict regimen" which means "abstinence from many kinds of foods and from the lusts of the flesh" and the objective is to "curtail licentiousness and the love of pleasure", to "induce a habit of patient submission to the stern and rigorous services of the shrines" which lead to "the knowledge of Him who is the First, the Lord of All, the Ideal one."

⁹So Betz, "Mithras Inscriptions," p. 65. This can be seen especially well in the person of Lucius (Apuleius, Meta. XI, 23), who describes his initiation (salvation) experience in part as follows: "Thou shalt understand that I approached near unto hell. . . . about midnight I saw the sun brightly shine, I saw likewise the gods celestial and the gods infernal, before whom I presented myself and worshipped them. . . ."

the "individual times which have been made known to him to which the Galatians now pay attention." Rather, Schmithals maintains, "he employs a current combination which was not disseminated in Jewish orthodoxy but occurs frequently in the apocryphal and gnostic, or gnosticizing literature."¹⁰ Thus the characterization which we find both in the Galatians and in the Colossians passages "deals with Gnostics" and what is more, "their observance of distinctive times is connected with the worship of angels, i.e. with the fact that the demonic powers which for Hellenism generally and especially for Gnosis appear embodied in the stars, governing fixed times and menacing men with these times."¹¹ Regarding what Schmithals calls the "equating of the terminology and the argumentation in Gal. 4:8-10 and Col. 2:16-23" one is drawn to the conclusion, he reasons, that "in both passages the same opponents are combatted."¹²

Furthermore, it has also been shown that time itself--whether personified as hours, days, months or as aeons--had great religious

¹⁰Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien," in his Paulus und die Gnostiker (Hamburg: Bergstedt: Reich, 1965), p. 30 and in n. 83 he cites literature ranging from Cicero to the (Jewish) pseudepigrapha to Justin Martyr and several gnostic sources. Discussion of the significance of the appearance of terminology and concepts across such a broad spectrum will be found below, pp. 185-188.

¹¹Ibid., p. 31 and in n. 88 Schmithals also observes that Gen. 1:14ff. serves as "the exegetical basis for angel-worship in gnosticizing Judaism." And he adds that "it is therefore no accident that this formula occurs constantly within Judaism." Furthermore, he notes that it is a proven fact today "that the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου have to do with personal angel powers" (n. 91).

¹²Ibid., n. 92. Discussion of the Colossians passages and their (real or imagined) relationship to Galatians is found below, pp. 194-95, especially notes 66, 67, 69.

significance, indeed was actually revered and worshipped in many quarters. Cumont has pointed out that

time, when this notion. . . . appeared, was not defined as a conception of the reason. . . . This is a being who has an existence per se, who is even regarded sometimes as a material body, and who is endowed with an activity of his own. 'Zeno,' says Cicero, 'attributed a divine power (*vis divina*) to the stars, but also to the years, the months, and the seasons.' (de Nat. Deor., ii, 63). We have here a very ancient belief, which is found for instance in Egypt. The magic idea of a power superior to man is connected, from the very beginning, with the notation of time. Calendars had a religious before acquiring a secular significance.¹³

In addition to these observations and the citation from Cicero, Cumont has also included a passage from Proclus which further shows the role of "days and months" in the Hellenistic world and its religious significance:

General opinion makes the Hours goddesses and the Month a god, and their worship has been handed on to us: we say also that the Day and Night are deities, and the gods themselves have taught us how to call upon them. Does it not necessarily follow that Time also should be a god, seeing that it includes at once months and hours, days and nights?¹⁴

In addition to this, Hans Jonas has shown the religious importance of "time", especially that of the "aeons", in Hellenistic thought--pre-gnostic as well as gnostic. Not only are the aeons understood spatially as demonic powers, regions, through which one must pass, but "no less demonized is the time dimension of life's cosmic existence." Thus Jonas concludes:

This twofold aspect of the cosmic terror, the spatial and the temporal, is well exhibited in the complex meaning of the gnosti-

¹³Cumont, Astrology and Religion, pp. 107-108.

¹⁴Proclus, In Timaeum, 248 D, quoted in Cumont, Ibid., p. 109.

cally adapted Hellenistic concept of "Aeon." Originally a time-concept purely (duration of life, length of cosmic time, hence eternity), it underwent personification in pre-gnostic Hellenistic religion--possibly an adaptation of the Persian god Zervan--and became an object of worship, even then with some fearsome associations. . . .¹⁵

From this admittedly very summary statement of some of the pagan backgrounds of several religio-historically important concepts in the Epistle to the Galatians we turn now to an examination of some of these same concepts within Hellenistic Judaism.

PART 2: JEWISH SOURCES

First of all we go to Philo. For Philo the "στοιχεῖα" are the basic "elements" or components of the cosmos. There are four "elements" out of which the universe has been fashioned.¹⁶ He can also call these elements the "material from which it (the cosmos) was compounded."¹⁷ For Philo himself the "elements" do not seem to be personal beings. Rather, they are the instruments of God, the material from which he fashions the world and all things in it.¹⁸ They are also the instruments of God which he uses to punish wickedness, e.g. in the plagues in Egypt.¹⁹ And yet at the same time

¹⁵Jonas, op.cit., p. 53. ¹⁶de Opif. Mundi, 52.

¹⁷de Cherubim, 127. ¹⁸de Vita Moses I, 155-157.

¹⁹de Vita Moses I, 96-146. The "apparent connection" between the "στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου" and the Egyptian plagues is discussed by H.D. Betz, "Zum Problem des religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis der Apokalyptik," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LXIII (1966), 390. He observes that "this relationship is fully developed in Philo" (p.390). What significance this tradition (and similar ones) has as it appears here in Philo and appears and reappears here and there in various religious texts and sources in the Hellenistic world is pointed out by Betz. Its significance for the present

Philo seems to give some indication that even for him the "elements" are something more than inanimate matter. For example, the elements themselves can speak,²⁰ the Noah flood is described as a "wild uprising of the elements",²¹ and the elements participate in other events of retributive justice in a manner that suggests that they might be more than inanimate matter.²² Furthermore, in his very interesting discussion of the creation, Philo interprets the phrase "in the beginning" in the following way:

. . . 'in the beginning He made' is equivalent to 'He made the heaven first': for it is indeed reasonable that it should come into existence first, being both best of created things and made from the purest of all that is, seeing that it was destined to be the most holy dwelling-place of manifest and visible gods.²³

Philo's inclination to look upon the "elements" as living beings or personifications is further illustrated precisely in several passages

study will be pointed out below, pp. 196-97 as well as throughout the next several paragraphs.

²⁰de Spec. Leg. I, 266. This passage and its place within the religio-historical framework of its day is noted by Betz, *Ibid.*, p. 397: "Here it becomes very clear how the boundaries between Judaism and Hellenism dissolve. . . ."

²¹De Vita Moses II, 60-65. The significance of the flood being described as a 'purification' or a 'purging of the sublunary world' should not be overlooked. Likewise Noah and his family are described as the 'inaugurators of a second cycle' for whom the elements are 'weapons' in the task of regenerating the human race.

²²de Vita Moses II, 53-54, also noted by Betz, "Zum Problem," p. 396, who also refers to de aetern. Mundi 109, de Vita Mos. I, 156; II, 154, 267 with a tracing of this tradition into other literature (n. 21).

²³de Opif. Mun. 27-28 with discussion in Betz, *Ibid.*, p. 398 where he notes that those deities which inhabit the heavens are, of course, the stars.

in which he polemicizes against worshipping them. He remarks that "some have deified the four elements. . . . others the sun, moon, planets. . . ." ²⁴ And just a few paragraphs below this in the same context he exhorts, "Let us then reject all such imposture and refrain from worshipping those who by nature are our brothers, even though they have been given a substance purer and more immortal than ours." ²⁵ Thus in his polemic against those who do and his exhortation to those inclined to worship the (personified/deified) "elements"--and presumably this included some in Jewish communities, to whom he was writing--Philo attests to the fact that such worship did in fact

²⁴de Decal. 53, with similar ridicule of "those who reverse the elements, earth, water, air, fire. . . ." in de Vita Con. 3. Cf. also Betz, *Ibid.*, p. 398 and n. 28. In *Quis rerum* D.H. 300-301 Philo calls those who see 'fate' and 'necessity' in Gen. 15:16 "weak people." However, in all of this it becomes clear that the position of Goodenough is essentially accurate when he says, "there is every reason for supposing that all through the ages many if not most ordinary Jews had themselves worshipped the lesser and more accessible deities of their neighbors. . . . There is. . . . considerable evidence that Jews prayed not only to God but to the angels. The angel of Abraham is addressed in prayer by Joseph in The Testament of Joseph (c.6); a similar prayer is in The Testament of Dan (6,2); and in the Jewish prayers for revenge found in Rhenea, God and the angels are invoked. Philo likewise prayed to Moses. Yet Jews never admitted the inconsistency of such prayers with their general position. Monotheism meant to them the belief in a single ultimate deity, and did not exclude belief in the existence of other super-human beings beside God" E.R. Goodenough, An Introduction to Philo Judaeus (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), p. 82. That for Judaism these "superhuman beings" were most readily identified with angels can be seen not only from Goodenough's argument but also from that of Betz, *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁵de Decal. 64. To this F.H. Colson adds a note: "Mangey strangely says that the brothers are the angels. But clearly they are the heavenly bodies, which are 'souls divine and without blemish throughout' (de Gig. 8) though elsewhere, as in de Opif. 144, admitted to have bodies. Philo always, I think, distinguishes them from the angels." Philo, VII, 38-39.

take place. What is more, although he vehemently rejects the worship of the elements, Philo nevertheless moves remarkably close to the position of those whom he opposes.²⁶

Perhaps even more importantly than all of this, however, is the role played by the association of the "elements" and the Law within Philo's thought. First of all, for him the "Father and Maker of the world was in the truest sense also its Lawgiver." From this he also draws the conclusion that "he who would observe the Law will accept gladly the duty of following nature and live in accordance with the ordering of the universe."²⁷ "Thus whoever will carefully examine the nature of the particular enactments will find that they seek to attain to the harmony of the universe and are in agreement with the principle of eternal nature."²⁸ Furthermore, not only are the "elements" the basic ingredients of the universe, but the Creator has also fashioned the world "in harmony with the Law." Thus the reverse side of this is that "the Law (is in harmony) with the world."²⁹ From this observation Philo again promptly draws the

²⁶Betz, *Ibid.*, p. 398, has described Philo as "vacillating in his judgment about the nature of the elements." Of Philo's position Goodenough has said: "... Philo shows us Judaism in its most essential position, not denying the existence of the lesser gods, but denying that they should be worshipped." Goodenough, *op.cit.* p.83.

²⁷*de Vita Moses*, II, 48. God is essentially νομοθέτης κ. πηγὴ νόμων (de Sac. 131; cf. also E.R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 54.)

²⁸*de Vita Moses* II, 52. "Nature" (φύσις) had four components, namely, the four elements: Goodenough, *By Light*, p. 50.

²⁹*de Opif. Mun.* 3. Creation, then, was a process of imposing Law upon matter; cf. Goodenough, *By Light*, p. 49. H.F. Weiss has argued that the "Law" for Philo is the Mosaic Law--this Law is not

conclusion: "the man who observes the Law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world, regulating his doings by the purpose and will of nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself is also administered." What is more, the transgressors are enemies "not of men but of the whole heaven and universe." The consequence of this transgression is that they "suffered not the ordinary, but strange and unexampled punishments. . . . for the most forceful elements of the universe, fire and water, fell upon them. . . ."30 And all of this was repeated again as men failed to learn the lesson of their forefathers but became transgressors: they were punished by fire.³¹ But some were saved, e.g. Noah, who obeyed God's commands.³² And those who obeyed not only escaped the "wild uprising of the elements. . . . but also became leaders of the regeneration. . . (and) received dominion over everything whatsoever upon earth. . . ." Philo can even bring the miracle of the manna in the desert into focus by reference to the elements: "For, as God called up His most perfect work, the world, out of not being into being, so He called up plenty in the desert, changing round the elements to meet the pressing need of the occasion, so that instead of the earth the air bore food for their nourishment. . . ."33 Thus observance

only a summary of ethical and cultic demands but also "the cosmic principle. . . ." H.F. Weiss, Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1966), pp. 277-278.

³⁰de Vita Mos. II, 53, 285.

³¹de Vita Mos. II, 55-56.

³²de Vita Mos. II, 60-61.

³³de Vita Mos. II, 267.

of the Law--especially the Sabbath³⁴--kept man in harmony with the universe whereby he avoided or escaped the punishment of the elements.

For Philo Moses himself plays a very important role. He was, of course, the Lawgiver. Thus, in the person of Moses, king and lawgiver--more than lawgiver, the Law personified³⁵--the Law and the elements are brought into close relationship.³⁶ As king and lawgiver, Moses is in control of the elements.³⁷ His kingship, as

³⁴de Vita Mos. II, 211-212.

³⁵de Vita Mos. I, 162. Goodenough has described this in a fascinating way: "On Sinai Moses went closer than any other man to a vision of God in his essence. Philo's passages here are quite ecstatic. Moses was an incorporeal listener to the divine music of the cosmos. His soul became a lyre in such perfect attunement that as he plucked the strings he produced the most beautiful of all symphonies, the symphony of a life in which ideal virtues are perfectly expressed in actions." Goodenough, Introduction, p. 148. "Philo is so carried away by the exalted Moses that he frequently speaks of him as having been deified, or being God. 'For when he had left all mortal categories behind he was changed into the divine, so that he might be made akin to God and truly divine!' Ibid., pp. 148-149; quotation from Ques. Ex. II, 29. Other passages from Philo which echo similar thoughts are de Vita Mos. I, 158f. (cf. Goodenough, By Light, p. 186, notes 32-34): de Vita Mos. I, 27; I, 20f. Again Goodenough's discussion is important: "He entered into the darkness where God is, and 'there he abides while he is made perfect in the most sacred Mysteries. And he not only becomes an initiate but also the hierophant of the rites and teacher of divine things, which he will reveal to those whose ears have been purified'" Goodenough, Introduction, p. 148; passage quoted is de Gig. 54f.

³⁶In the passage in which he discusses Moses' death, Philo makes this very clear: "he gathered together a divine company, that is the elements of the universe and the most important parts of the cosmos, namely earth and heaven, earth the hearth of mortals and heaven the house of immortals. In the midst of these he composed hymns in every type of mode and interval, in order that men and ministering angels might hear, men as learners. . . . and the angels as critics. . . ." de Virt. 73f., quoted in Goodenough, Introduction, p. 149.

³⁷In addition to the passages cited in the preceding (36) and following (38) notes, Goodenough's observation is relevant: "Moses

Goodenough says, was cosmic.³⁸ The passage which he cites is most significant:

For as God thought Moses worthy to share in the portion he had reserved for himself, he committed to Moses the entire cosmos as a possession fit for God's heir. Wherefore each of the elements was made subject to Moses as master and altered its inherent properties to become subject to his commands.³⁹

The fact that the figure of Abraham and the question of his descendents is central in the theology and self-understanding of the opponents of Paul in Galatia is not at all an isolated occurrence. Abraham was, of course, a central figure in virtually all quarters of Judaism. However, there is some evidence that the role played by Abraham is both more prominent and receives a somewhat different emphasis in some quarters of Judaism than in others.⁴⁰ At any rate,

led the Israelites out of Egypt, an experience which becomes the commonest symbol of the Jewish mystery since the migration was from Egypt, matter, to the Promised Land, the immaterial, under the saving leadership of Moses." Goodenough, Introduction, p. 147.

³⁸Goodenough, Introduction, where he also cites the passage in which Moses is "called God and King of the whole race. . . ." (de Vita Mos. I, 158).

³⁹de Vita Mos. I, 155f.; with quotation from Goodenough, Introduction. In another place Goodenough has also observed: "Philo, so far as I can recall, does not describe the inferiority of the written code to the true Law by saying that the written laws were sent down by angels. . . . Philo has Moses get the Laws from the Powers rather than from God directly." E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period (New York: Pantheon, 1965), XII, 57, n. 35.

⁴⁰This is the thesis of Wilfred Lawrence Knox, "Abraham and the Quest for God," Harvard Theological Review XXVIII (1935), 55-60, where he argues that there is a distinctly different emphasis in the Abraham tradition which was formulated and/or preserved in Hellenistic (Diaspora) Judaism as compared to what he calls the "Palestinian-Jewish version." Without going into the question of what was (and was not) "Hellenistic" in later Judaism, there does seem to be support for Knox's contention that apologetic and missionary concern brought different emphases to Diaspora Judaism.

the person and role of Abraham is highly important for both Philo and Josephus. For both he is the proto-type of the pagan who escapes or transcends subservience to the "elements" and comes to worship the (one, true) God (of Judaism). By birth Abraham was a Chaldean. And the "Chaldeans were especially active in the elaboration of astrology and ascribed everything to the movements of the stars. They supposed that the course of the phenomena of the world is guided by influences contained in numbers and numerical proportions. . . . they concluded that the world itself was god, thus profanely likening the created to the Creator."⁴¹ Abraham was himself not only "skilled in celestial matters", but in fact seems to have been revered by some as the father of astrology.⁴² All of this he left, however, as he came to worship "the overseer of the All."⁴³ The migration of Abraham, then, was much more a spiritual matter than a physical one. Chaldea represented astrology, for there "they have set up a harmony between things on earth and things on high, between heavenly things and earthly." With this, Philo says, Moses (the author of the account of Abraham and his migration) was in agreement. But the Chaldeans also "imagined that this visible universe was the only thing in existence, either being itself God or containing God in itself as the soul of the whole. And they made Fate and Necessity divine..."⁴⁴

⁴¹de Abrah. 69.

⁴²Jos., Ant. I,7,2; Knox, op.cit., p. 56.

⁴³de Abrah. 71.

⁴⁴de Migr. Abr. 178-179.

With this Moses disagreed.⁴⁵ And for this reason Abraham migrated! "Quit, then, your meddling with heavenly concerns, and take up your abode, as I have said, in yourselves; leave behind your opinion, the country of the Chaldeans, and migrate to Haran, the place of sense-perception. . . ."⁴⁶ The "third stage" follows this, namely the discerning "the Universal Father, so hard to trace and unriddle..."⁴⁷ Quite apparently Abraham is understood and represented as a pattern which the reader "may reproduce"; his was an "experience of development."⁴⁸ Because of the presence of this and similar emphases in the Abraham tradition(s), Knox concludes that "the Judaism of the Dispersion was concerned to make converts; it had to recognize that cosmic and astral interpretations of Gentile cults which tended towards monotheism were nearer to the truth, if only because they were harder to convict of error. . . ."⁴⁹ That this life of Abraham is intended by Philo to be an apologetic for the nation can be seen from the final paragraphs of his "On Abraham". The role played by the Law in the life of Abraham is also clearly to be seen there:

So much for all this, but to these praises of the Sage, so many and so great, Moses adds this crowning saying "that this man did the divine law and the divine commands." He did them,

⁴⁵Ibid., 180-181.

⁴⁶Ibid., 187.

⁴⁷Ibid., 195.

⁴⁸Thus the argument of Goodenough, Introduction, p. 147.

⁴⁹Knox, "Abraham," p. 60. That Wisdom emphases are also woven into this tradition in Philo is not noted by Knox, but is recognized by Goodenough, Introduction, p. 141. Cf. also de Decal. 64-81, esp. 66, where precisely this is stated.

not taught by written words, but unwritten nature gave him the zeal to follow where wholesome and untainted impulse led him. And when they have God's promises before them what should men do but trust in them most firmly? Such was the life of the first, the founder of the nation, one who obeyed the law, some will say, but rather, as our discourse has shown, himself a law and an unwritten statute.⁵⁰

In addition to all of this one could also point to the influence upon Philo's thought played by the contemporary cosmic and astral emphases in the Hellenistic world, especially also in those several passages where he discusses the Jewish cult, the vestments of the priests,⁵¹ the construction of the tabernacle, the positioning of various items within it, and the numerology which he understands to be part of the lay-out of the temple.⁵²

Lest it be argued that these Hellenistic influences upon Jewish thought and life were limited, if not exclusively to Philo and the Alexandrian Jewish community, then at least to a few scattered areas, it can be mentioned that the voluminous work of Goodenough on the "Jewish symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period" also provides evidence,⁵³

⁵⁰de Abrah. 275-276.

⁵¹de Vita Mos. II, 118-122 (the elements are represented in the vestments of the priest); 123-126 (vestments represent signs of the zodiac); 133-135, etc.

⁵²de Vita Mos. II, 71-108; de Congre. 116-121. Cf. also de Decal. 102-105 where the numbering of the commandments receive astrological interpretation, etc.

⁵³To give only a few examples of the kind of influences found in various quarters of Hellenistic Judaism: there is the "Prayer of Jacob", thought by Goodenough to be "a direct product of Judaism", although considered by Preisendanz to be merely "influenced by Judaism" (a distinction which is not of great significance for this study, of course). In this prayer address is made to the "Father of the Patriarchs, . . . of all things, . . . of the powers (δυνάμεις) of the universe, . . . Creator of all, . . . Creator of the angels

that the apocryphal⁵⁴ and especially the pseudepigraphal⁵⁵ documents of later Judaism contain numerous evidences of this influence, that

and archangels. . . . I call upon thee, who [upon the deep gavest] power to the things above, upon and beneath the earth. . . . God of gods, Amen, Amen, who begetteth the snow, ever wandering about upon the stars above the aeons, and makest the fixed stars and planets marshall all things by thy creative power. . . ." Goodenough, Jewish Symbols II, 203. Goodenough comments that "here is prayer quite unimpeachable as a product of hellenized Judaism. The stars control all things beneath them, but their influence is subordinate to God's creativity" (Ibid.). However, there is some disagreement over the precise reading of the final line quoted above (after the "Amen, Amen"), which, of course, has bearing upon the way in which this prayer is finally interpreted. In spite of this, Goodenough "takes this passage to refer to astral determinism, but as making that determinism itself the minister of God's will and creative power" (Ibid.). At any rate, the significance of the passage is clear.

Another example would be a charm in which the names of seven angels are given. They "stand at the right hand of the Father, ready to fulfill all his wishes. . . ." The one praying strives with "the beings of heaven." There are also mentioned (possibly to be understood in parallelism to the angels) seven letters (στοιχεῖα), "which are engraved upon the breast of the Father, which are α ε η ι ο υ ω." In this charm Davithea (David) is prominent. As Goodenough points out, "He is the leader of the heavenly chorus, as made up of angels, aeons, or the stars. . . ." (Ibid., II, 168). He also points to the similarity between this and the Philo passage (de Agr. 51) where God is the Shepherd of the flock (=the four elements, the sun and moon, the mortal and divine living beings in earth, air, with the other heavenly bodies in their great cycles. . . .)" (Ibid., II, 168-169).

A third example is found in a highly syncretistic amulet in which the lesser gods (elements) not only are believed to exist, albeit by virtue of the creation of the "One God immortal; Begetter of all things", but who are addressed in prayer. Here also there is great emphasis on astral aspects (Ibid., II, 293-295).

Yet another example comes from the synagogue at Dura, where in "the four portraits that flank the reredos" Moses is pictured in what Goodenough calls "his four chief moments as the Jewish figure of overwhelming importance for all aspects of the religion" (Ibid., XII, 164). These are Moses meeting God at the burning bush, reading the Torah to Israel, receiving the Torah in Sinai, and "ascending through the heavenly orbs singing the song of the universe" (Ibid.). This last is a man standing "Under the arch of heaven in which are the sun, moon, and seven stars" (Ibid., XI, figs. 93, 324-327 with comments in XII, 164-165.) A final example to be mentioned is that of the menorah, the seven-branched candlestick, which was apparently widely used in spite of rabbinic prohibitions. Goodenough has dis-

even in the Qumran scrolls such influence is to be found.⁵⁶ It seems to have penetrated, if not all of later Judaism, at least far

cussed this with examples (*Ibid.*, IV, 75ff., esp. p. 92).

Goodenough has summarized the very extensive work he was then completing with special emphasis on the magical materials. This is worth citing in some detail because of the fact that he deals with several questions not yet answered: "The magical material, both charms and amulets, has given direct evidence of a widespread invasion of Judaism by Hellenism, quite independent of what we usually call literary or archaeological sources, but quite as direct and first-hand" (*Ibid.*, XII, 62). He adds with regard to the role played by the magical material in the lives of the people: "These symbols, and many others with them, were devices that pagans relied upon to protect them from the malevolence of their environment, and Jews apparently saw no reason for doing without such protection. . . . We have seen that Greeks or Egyptians could use the name of Iao Sabbaoth, and that Jews could call upon Aphrodite or Isis, and apparently the only criterion in the minds of either was the success of their prayers." When did all of this begin to occur? Was it not rather late to be considered important as source information helpful in understanding the Epistle to the Galatians? Goodenough's answer about the time is: "I suspect the process began very early. II Maccabees XII, 32-45, tells how after a battle Judas examined the bodies of all his own men who had been killed. He found that each was wearing 'an amulet of the idols of Jamnia', and the implication is that God had rightly punished such offenders by killing them. The story clearly was told to warn others, and even so the author did not dare say that none of the survivors wore such an amulet. . . . put into the narrative as it is, it seems excellent evidence that the author of II Macc. knew very well that Jews wore pagan amulets, although he himself deeply disliked the practice" (*Ibid.*, XII, 62-63). Cf. also Goodenough's discussion of "astrological materials" in *Ibid.*, VIII, 167-218, (Chapter 18).

The thesis of Nock, (*op.cit.*, p. 98, n. 4) that "in the στοιχεῖα Jewish and planetary ideas meet" with reference to sources where "the elements help to make the Law" is suggested (cf. above pp. 171-172, n. 7, also p. 182, n. 39), is perhaps still awaiting final or definitive "proof". However, the materials collected and discussed by Goodenough do seem to lend a great deal of support to it.

⁵⁴Wisdom contains several passages, e.g. 13:1-2 ". . . nor did they recognize the craftsman while paying heed to his works; but they supposed that either fire, or turbulent water, or the luminaries of heaven were the gods that rule the world." (cf. Knox, "Abraham," p. 57). Goodenough again has quoted the passage 18:22-25 with his own comments and interpretation: Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, VIII, 208-209.

Other passages are found, for example, in IV Maccabees (esp. 14:

and wide.⁵⁷

PART 4: CHRISTIAN SOURCES

Mention, even if only brief, must also be made of the similarity or parallelism between Galatians material and other early Chris-

7f., 17:5.) Cf. comments by Goodenough, Ibid., VIII, 207.

⁵⁵There are numerous examples of astrological influences, especially in the Enoch literature and the sources dealing with Enoch. In addition to the discussions of this literature together with references to other passages in the pseudepigrapha found in the standard articles: e.g. A. Lumpe, "Elementum," in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959), IV, 1080ff; P.L. Hammer "Element (Elemental Spirit)" in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, II, 82; T. H. Gaster, "Angel," in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, I, 128-134; G. Delling, "Ἄγγελοι" in G. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament: (Kohlhammer, 1964), VII, 675f; etc. There is a most important--especially for this study--discussion by H. D. Betz, "Zum Problem," esp. pp. 399-403.

Passages such as En. 19:1ff., 60:11ff., 61:10, 69:22, 72:1, Jub. 2:2-3, II Esd. 6:3 are examples of the penetration of astral ideas into Judaism, especially as the elements were coming to be identified with the angels. Especially important for that growing identification are En. 61:10 and 69:22.

⁵⁶The entire question of astral influence at Qumran with all that it entails is a more complex issue than the purposes or scope of this study can encompass. However, that there are such influences has been shown with a reasonable amount of clarity. For example, Ringgren has cited the passage 1QH I, 8-15, on which he comments: "These lines, like some similar phrases in the badly damaged column xiii, probably allude to the doctrine concerning elemental spirits, which is also known from the Book of Enoch: God has appointed spirits to rule over the elements and natural phenomena, and these spirits act in accordance with his will and the plan which he has established.

"The order of nature and the regular course of the heavenly bodies mark the holy seasons, i.e., the religious festivals. This is the reason why the Qumran congregation attached such importance to questions concerning calendar: the times for the festivals are decided by the order which God laid down in the universe at the creation." The Faith of Qumran (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 56-57.

Both Brownlee and Allegro have pointed out astrological motifs which they have detected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Brownlee has

tian sources. The "elements" are to be found playing a role in various Christian and "Christianized" texts, including a number in

referred to an acrostic Amen in 1QS x. 1-4, while Allegro has published what he calls "an astrological cryptic document." Cf. W. H. Brownlee, "Emendations of the Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and Some Notes Concerning the Habakkuk Midrash," Jewish Quarterly Review (January 1955), 198-218, and especially, W. H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," New Testament Studies, III (1956-57), 195-210, and J. M. Allegro, "An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran," Journal of Semitic Studies, IX (1964), 291-294.

H. Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), I, 229-230, while warning against an overly facile parallelizing of Qumran material with passages (esp. those relating to the "elements" and "festivals") in Colossians, remarks that "the 'elemental spirits' of the Epistle to the Galatians (4:9, 10) are closer to the Qumran texts, because the astrally-fixed observance in Galatians goes together hand-in-hand with the demand to observe the law. . . ." For discussion of this point in relation to the Colossians passages, cf. below, p. 194-5, n. 67.

Davies goes so far as to claim that the phrase which appears in Gal. 4:10 "recalls exactly" one found in 1QS I, 14. W.D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in The Scrolls and the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 167. (Cf. also the caution of Braun, op.cit., I, 210 on the "exactly" claimed by Davies. However, Braun does acknowledge some degree of similarity between Galatians and Qumran. He observes that since Paul rejects all fixed-time observances for Christians as being an impossible cult of the elemental-gods (Gal. 4:9), "therefore the fixed-time observance combatted by Paul does in fact recall Qumran in a certain way. For Qumran's calendar insists on the solar principle with its fixed times, Qumran reverences the "prince of the lights" as an angel (1QS 3, 20; CD 5, 18). . . .")

Cf. also F. M. Cross, Jr. The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 46-47; A.R.C. Leane, The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), pp. 17-26, who concludes that at Qumran, as "everywhere in the ancient world", there was "the desire to live according to the structure of the universe", which meant specifically observance of the solar calendar (and implicitly, of course, the way in which it was drawn up--astronomy, or more precisely, astrology).

In addition to the Qumran Hodayot passage cited by Ringgren, the more important passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls for discerning astral influences include, of course, those dealing with the calendar, but also such as 1QM 10, 10f.; (possibly 1QM 1, 8, although the reading at the beginning of the line is disputed and uncertain); CD 5, 18, where H. Braun, Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus, (Tübingen: Mohr, 1957), I, 102, n. 5) observes that

the New Testament itself. In addition to the Galatians passages themselves, there are several passages in the Epistle to the Col-

71X is a "designation for the astral-spirits"; 1QS 3, 13-4, 26, in which context we find mention of the "prince of lights" which Braun shows is the coming together of the persons of the angel and the astral spirits, but in which context we also find "predestination" coming close to (astral) determinism (fate), in which the dualism can be seen to go back finally to a cosmological dualism or opposition of cosmic spirits (angels, the "prince of light" and the "angel of darkness") albeit still under the control of God. In the same context we also find a "catalog" of virtues and vices which, of course, recalls the similar listing in Gal. 5.

⁵⁷G. G. Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960), pp. 18-19 and 2ff., esp. p. 23, has shown the syncretistic nature of Judaism, leaning toward gnosticism, in respect to the imagery of the angels. On pp. 32-35 he shows similarities--if not connections--between the Jewish traditions and the Coptic-Gnostic, also in respect to the role of the four elements under the control of the archon. He points to various sources, for example Greater Hekhaloth 4:2, which reads: "Who is like unto our King? Who is like unto our Creator? . . . The sun and moon is cast out and sent forth by the crown of His head, The Pleiades and Orion and the planet Venus, Constellations and stars and zodiacal signs Flow and issue forth from the garment of Him Who is crowned and shrouded in it, sits upon the throne of His glory." (pp. 56-64) Scholem remarks: "The logical conclusion seems to be, given the historical circumstances, that, initially, Jewish esoteric tradition absorbed Hellenistic elements similar to those we actually find in Hermetic writings. . . ." (p. 33).

In another and quite different study the Jewish community in the Western Asia Minor city of Sardis has recently been the subject of investigation of a Harvard dissertation. There also the author has found a high level of syncretism. Alf Thomas Kraabel has remarked (with regard to the Colossian heresy but containing obviously broader suggestions) that ". . . the mixture of (pagan and Jewish) elements is not surprising in an Anatolian Jewish setting". He also observes that "the elements which enter into this syncretism in Lydia and Phrygia are clear enough, as shown above; it is thus logical to assume that Lydian-Phrygian Judaism of a fairly ordinary type is behind the Colossian heresy." A.T. Kraabel, "Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, with a Preliminary Study of the Jewish Community at Sardis, Lydia." (Unpublished Dissertation, Harvard University, 1968), p. 146. In his concluding summary Kraabel has argued that "nothing in the archeological or epigraphic evidence would suggest exclusiveness of any kind (on the part of the Anatolian Jews); they participate fully in the community's life, even to the extent of tying Old Testament lion-imagery into local mythology. This charac-

ossians.⁵⁸ In addition there are also passages in Revelation which should not be overlooked.⁵⁹ The extra-canonical occurrences can be

teristic openness of Anatolian Judaism was hinted at in the evidence found earlier for towns like Apameia with its kibotos-myth, Eumeneia and Hierapolis with their funerary vocabulary shared with Gentiles. . . ." (p. 245). Finally, he concludes that the Judaism of (this area) of Asia Minor is "... more cosmopolitan Judaism, tied more firmly to 'Hellenism' and in particular to the pagan piety of Lydia and Phrygia" (p. 248).

It should be pointed out that Kraabel bases much of his argumentation for the distinctiveness of Anatolian Judaism upon the fact that they had been there for centuries. Kraabel has pointed out and emphasized that Josephus (Antiq. 12. 148-53) reports a settling of 2000 Jewish families in this area at the end of the third century BC. And what is equally as important for Kraabel is the fact that these Jews came, not from Palestine, but from Babylonia and Mesopotamia (cf. pp. 5-6).

Similar conclusions in an altogether different area of investigation have also been made by Kurt Rudolph, "Randerscheinungen des Judentums und das Problem der Entstehung des Gnostizismus," Kairos IX (1967), 105-122. Typical of his findings is this statement: "The previously outlined region of origin of Gnosis--Syria, Samaria, Palestine--gives our assumption further support, since precisely this area had been a place deeply penetrated by Judaism of all shades, which already in ancient times had greatly accommodated itself to 'heathenism'. Since it is premature to talk in this time of a Jewish orthodoxy (or practice), one can assume for the time before the first Christian century a relatively broad scale of the Judaism of that time." (p. 115).

Still another study which has dealt in some detail with the Galatians passages in the light of background materials from later Judaism is that of B. Reicke, "The Law and this World According to Paul," Journal of Biblical Literature LXX (1951), 259-276. Reicke has argued for the identification of "the elements of the world" in Gal. 4:3 with "the Law" in 4:5 (and thus, of course, with the angels, who, according to 3:19, ordained the Law) not only on the basis of an exegetical examination of Galatians itself, but also on the basis of a religio-historical study of later Judaism, especially the Pseudepigrapha and most especially the Enoch literature. Beginning with LXX passages such as Deut. 4:11f. (which, according to Reicke, "can easily have been made to allude to the revelation of the Law through certain 'elements'", p. 268) and Deut. 33:2 ("where angels are mentioned in connection with giving the Law", p. 269), Reicke proceeds to Jubilees (where, for example, 4:15ff. is seen as an important parallel because of the presence of the term "μεσότης", which is also found, of course, in Gal. 3:19, p. 292) and finally comes to rest in the Enoch literature. He concludes with the daring

found virtually everywhere in early Christian literature, in a variety of sources such as the pseudo-Clementine writings⁶⁰ and the Nag Hammadi literature,⁶¹ the (Christian) Sibyllines,⁶² the

and suggestive conjecture that "it is quite possible that Paul's opponents in Galatia really embraced doctrines similar to those in Enoch and Jubilees which have been interpreted by Paul in periohem partem" (p. 273).

⁵⁸E. g. Col. 2:8, 16, 20.

⁵⁹Rev. 7:1, 14:18, 16:5, 19:17.

⁶⁰Betz, "Zum Problem," pp. 403-404, has included an examination of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies in his study of the plague tradition in the ancient world. He has noted that especially Hom. VIII-IX are almost parallel to Kore Kosmou. (The significance of this can be seen from the discussion of Kore Kosmou above, pp. 170-172 esp. notes 3 and 7).

In the so-called "Kerygma Petrou" one can find a number of important passages. For example, there is the polemic "neither worship him in the manner of the Jews; for they also, who think that they know God, do not understand, worshipping angels and archangels, the months and the moon. And when the moon does not shine, they do not celebrate the so-called first Sabbath. . . ." New Testament Apocrypha II, 100. From the so-called "Kerygmata Petrou" comes the following: ". . . that we should pass on the books of his (Peter's) preaching that have been forwarded to us not indiscriminately, but only to a good and religious candidate for the position of a teacher, a man who as one who has been circumcised is a believing Christian. . . . He ought therefore to be proved for not less than six years. Thereafter, according to the way of Moses, let him be brought to a river or a fountain where there is living water and the regeneration of the righteous takes place. . . . he should be enjoined to stand in the water and to vow, as we also ourselves were made to do at the time of our regeneration, to the end that we might sin no more. And let him say: "As witness I invoke heaven, earth, and water, in which everything is comprehended, and also in addition the all-pervading air. . . ." (New Testament Apocrypha, II, 113). Cf. also Strecker, Das Judentum in den Pseudoklementinen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), passim, but esp. pp. 163ff.

⁶¹"σολχεται" occurs as a loan word, e. g. VII, 51, 5 (Second Logos of the Great Seth). On the question of Jewish sources, traditions, themes, etc. which are to be found in this literature, cf. Rudolph, op.cit., pp. 114-115, where he argues: ". . . the new Coptic texts from Nag Hammadi teach us. . . that the majority of

Apostolic fathers⁶³ and the persons (groups) combatted by the early Christian apologists⁶⁴ as well as in miscellaneous other sources

documents carry a more or less strong Christian veneer, behind which a Jewish (or Biblical) theme of firmer foundation steps forth. Several of the editors of these texts, esp. A. Böhlig, M. Krause, and H. M. Schenke, have asserted irrefutably that Jewish-structured circles must have shared in the creation of these documents (i.e. Apocryphon of John, Tractate without title from Cod. II, Hypostasis of the Archons, Apocalypse of Adam)."

There is at least one passage in which circumcision seems to be positively received, a passage which perhaps reflects its being practiced among (some of) the members of the sect, i.e. Gospel Phil. # 123: "When Abraham / . . . that he was to see what he was to see, / he circumcised the flesh of uncircumcision, / teaching us that it is fitting to destroy the flesh / . . . this world so long as their / . . . and are alive." The Gospel of Philip, p. 184. On the other hand there is also Gospel of Thomas # 53: "His disciples said to him: / Is circumcision profitable or not? He said / to them: If it were profitable, their father / would beget them circumcised from their mother." The Gospel According to Thomas, p. 31. Gärtner has suggested that this logion "seems to have a polemical purpose, directed against certain doctrines of 'Jewish Christianity.'" B. Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas (London: Collins, 1961), p. 59. At any rate, this logion verifies the fact that circumcision was indeed an issue for the Nag Hammadi community. Wilson's suggestion that this logion "was probably understood by the Gnostics on the basis of Col. 2:11. . . ." R.M. Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas (London: Mowbray, 1960), p. 105, is probably going too far, although he is probably correct when he concludes that it is parallel to Colossians in that both seem to understand the "true circumcision", as being "linked with the stripping off of the body of flesh. . . ." (Ibid.). The influence of "planet-religion" at Nag Hammadi is discussed by the editors in the introduction to the "Tractate without title". Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi, pp. 84-85.

In the "Apocalypse of Adam" is to be found definite and distinct influence from Jewish sources. A summary of this together with its significance is to be found in the introductory comments by the editors. Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo, esp. p. 95.

⁶²Sib. Or. 2, 206; 8, 337; 3, 80f. (New Testament Apocrypha, II, 714, 736, also 739, 11. 447, 449ff.).

⁶³Especially prevalent in the Hermas literature, e.g. vis. 2,2,7; 9,27,3; 4,2,4; 5,2; sim. 7,1ff.; 8,1,2; mand. 5,1,7; 11,9. In the Ignatius epistles, e.g. Eph. 19:2; Sm. 6:1. Also Barn. 18:1, etc. On the Ignatius material specifically and early Christian

and traditions.⁶⁵

Perhaps most directly relevant here for illumination of the Galatians passages are the parallels from the New Testament itself. As has already been suggested, there is more than a similarity in a few words or phrases in the parallelism between Colossians and Galatians. This has been observed and is discussed in detail elsewhere⁶⁶ and need not be belabored here.⁶⁷ However, very specific mention

sources generally, cf. H. Schlier, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929), chapter 1, pp. 5-32.

⁶⁴This material is conveniently and concisely summarized and brought together by Schmithals, "Häretiker in Galatien," esp. pp. 25-26 and notes 63-68. Schmithals sees Cerinthus as an especially likely parallel, since he had been active in Galatia area of Asia Minor and since some of the characteristics attributed to the Galatian heretics have also been attributed to him and his followers. Other summary statements on Cerinthus, the Ebionites, Nicolaitans, etc. are given by W. Wigan Harvey in the introduction to his edition of the works of Irenaeus, Libros quinque adversus Haeresis, esp. I, lxix-lxxiv.

⁶⁵E.g. Asc. Is. where the worship of angels is forbidden (7:21) and where the angels control the firmament, hell, etc. (e.g. 10:8, 12, 14, etc.) and where the angels are associated with the lights and with "the gods of this world" (10:12, 15, etc.).

A tradition regarding worship of (an) angel(s) also finds its way into the New Testament in Rev. 19:9-10 and 22:8-9, where it is expressly and strictly forbidden.

⁶⁶E.g. the valuable article of G. Bornkamm, "Die Häresie des Kolosserbriefes," in his Das Ende des Gesetzes (München: Kaiser, 1963), pp. 139-156. The commentaries also, of course, examine this question. Cf. esp. the most recent commentary on Colossians by E. Lohse, Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1968), ad loc., esp. pp. 146-150.

⁶⁷One ought not to be so enamored of the similarities--real as they obviously are--between Colossians and Galatians that he overlooks the differences--which are also very real. Braun has correctly warned against the minimizing of these differences in the context of his discussion of purported parallels between Qumran and Colossians. His pointed and pregnant rhetorical question focuses on one of the

ought to be made of the fact that apparently the Colossian heresy included veneration or worship of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8, 20) along with an emphasis on cultic matters (especially circumcision, 2:11, but including also an observance of a ritual calendar, 2:16, and of some kind of dietary regulations, 2:21-22), all the while, however, still apparently being very much within the context of the Christian church.⁶⁸ Whether the "worship of angels" (2:18) has anything to do with observance of the Law need not be decided here.⁶⁹

In the New Testament Epistle of James reference is made to a "νόμος Βασιλικός", which apparently is identical with the "νόμος τέλειος τῆς ἐλευθερίας" (2:8, 1:25). Furthermore, this Law thus positively evaluated within the Christian context is here also summarized with the widely used statement: ἀγαπήσεις τον πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν (2:8). Especially interesting in this regard is the reference to "keeping the whole Law" (ὅλος ὁ νόμος τηρεῖν--2:10),

key issues: "If Colossians takes up a round-about polemic against Qumran, how is it possible then to find the concept of the Torah totally absent in it, even though the Torah determines the very energetic Qumran piety?!" He then answers this question by noting that the Law is present in Col. 2:14 in a non-explicit way, whereas in Galatians both an explicit Law observance and worship of the "elements" go together with astrally-determined festival observances. Braun, Qumran, I, 229-230.

⁶⁸In addition to the discussions of Bornkamm and Lohse (cf. above, n. 66) there is a valuable treatment by Lumpe, op.cit., IV, cols. 1082 and 1089-1090.

⁶⁹This is argued persuasively by Bornkamm, "Häresie", pp. 147-152, but it is disputed by C.F.D. Moule, The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), ad loc. Going even further, F.O. Francis, "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18," Studia theologia, XVI (1962), 109-134, has argued that the genitive "τῶν ἀγγέλων" is subjective, referring to the worship which the angels perform, p. 126-30. Lohse, op.cit., ad loc., in turn

which would apparently set James off in contrast to Paul's Galatian opponents, whose observance of the Law seems to have been somewhat selective.⁷⁰

Of the passages from Revelation, one has been singled out for closer examination. It also provides us with insight for the discussion of the Epistle to the Galatians. As has already been mentioned, Hans Dieter Betz has looked into the role of the "elements" in the apocalyptic of the Hellenistic world and its religions, both Judaism and paganism. He has used as his point of departure Rev. 16:5, tracing the appearance of the traditions of the angel of the waters first as it is found there and then as we can see it in the plague-tradition in Philo and elsewhere, especially Egyptian sources. He has examined non-Jewish as well as Jewish sources, especially the pseudepigrapha as well as Philo, and has concluded, among other things, that "redemption can only come from the deity, who rules over the elementary and celestial spirits. God's saving act results in the 'purification' of the earth, the restitution of righteousness and worship of the deity among men, and the announcement of an era of paradise. On all these points there is a basic agreement between the Book of Revelation (Rev. 21), Enoch (10:16ff.), and 'Kore Kosmou' (65ff.)."⁷¹ Thus by tracing the traditions about the plagues (ele-

rejects Francis' position.

⁷⁰This is discussed in the next section, cf. below, pp. 199-202 esp. n. 7.

⁷¹Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," Journal for Theology and the Church VI (1969), 148.

ments) through a wide variety of texts. Betz has shown that apocalyptic is thoroughly woven into the Hellenistic world.⁷² In this way it is possible to see again the wide prevalence of the reverence for--if not the worship of!--the elements throughout the length and breadth of the world.

That in early Christianity the divine demand was widely understood as "law" with Jesus frequently being described as the "giver" of that (new) law has been briefly summarized by Bultmann.⁷³ The situation Paul faces in Galatia seems to include something of this sort of legalistic understanding of Christ and of adherence to him together with some sort of veneration of the "elements" and an apparently heavy emphasis on the spiritual status of certain individuals.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 154-156.

⁷³R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), I, 118-119.

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF GALATIANS 5 AND 6

PART 1: GALATIANS 5:11 AND CONTEXT

The fact that this passage is sometimes omitted from discussions of this epistle or from reconstructions of the situation which lies behind the epistle only makes it more imperative that it be examined here so that it may be taken into consideration. This passage raises, either explicitly or implicitly, a number of issues which seem to have importance for a thorough understanding of the epistle and its historical background. Some of these issues overlap with others which have already been or soon will be discussed in this study. Others are not considered elsewhere. But all of those issues can be seen from another perspective in the light of this passage.

Gal. 5:11 reads: "But if I still preach circumcision, brothers, why do I still get persecuted? If that is the case, then surely the cross is no longer a stumbling block." From 4:29 (cf. also 1 Thess. 2:16) we learn that this was a Jewish (Christian) persecution of Paul. From 3:1 we learn that the (saving) death of Jesus Christ is intimately involved in this debate over the Law and circumcision. However, at this point it must again be made clear that Paul's opponents also had a christology, presumably one which even included--however deemphasized--the fact of the crucifixion

of Jesus Christ.¹ Where they differed was presumably over the understanding of what that death implied for the Law.² For Paul it apparently meant an end to the necessity of the Law; for his opponents it apparently did not mean that. But the fact that Paul was being persecuted and his opponents were not (5:11 vs. 6:12) focuses our attention on this issue with greater urgency--indeed, in a new way.³ Here in 5:11 Paul makes clear that it is because he does not require circumcision that he is being persecuted. Similarly he charges that, although his opponents do not keep the (whole) Law themselves, they still avoid persecution--precisely because they do still advocate circumcision. Some other aspects of the Law they apparently neglected. Thus the fact of persecution verified first of all that Paul did not and his opponents did practice circumcision and secondly that this practice must have been one

¹Cf. above, pp. 97, 101, 109-111, esp. 113-114.

²The real issue here and the significance of the persecution in relation to it is well set out by Morton Smith, "The Reason for the Persecution of Paul and the Obscurity of Acts," in Studies in Mysticism and Religion (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), pp. 261-268, esp. p. 262. In my estimation Smith has raised the right questions, but, as will subsequently be shown, his answers are not always adequate.

³Smith, op.cit., p. 262 argues thus: ". . . the persecutions cannot be explained solely by reference to the peculiar Messianic beliefs of the Christians, since peculiarities of Messianic belief seem to have been matters of comparative indifference in the first century, provided they did not lead to peculiarities of practice. What we must find, therefore, is some peculiarity of primitive Christian practice sufficient to explain the persecution. This peculiarity, . . . was Jesus' teaching of freedom from the Law and the libertine consequences which he and his followers drew from it." For Smith apparently Paul, although not "antinomian", is such a libertine (the expression he uses is "the free life"-p. 263), also since he was the object of persecution.

of the chief criteria in determining the limits of toleration within the Judaism of Paul's day.⁴

Having now said this we are consequently faced with the next question: how much more precisely can the posture of Paul's opponents toward the Law be spelled out?⁵ Further, how did that compare to

⁴As is quite clear from the text of Galatians (cf. above, p. 95-97 and below, pp. 102-3, 202, n. 7), Paul's opponents also did not observe all aspects of the Law. Thus, if measured by the criteria of Rabbinic Judaism--or for that matter by, for example, Qumran--both Paul and his opponents would have to be judged libertines. As has been shown, Smith, op.cit., p. 264, has suggested this about Paul. He also describes the opponents in the same way. And yet one (Paul) was persecuted while the other (his opponents) were not. Smith describes the situation thus: "The cause of the persecution, therefore, was not the preaching of the crucifixion, but the open teaching and practice of freedom from the Law. Notice Paul's charge that even those who are circumcised do not, themselves, keep the Law (Gal. 6:13). Evidently there were elements of libertinism in even the most conservative of early Christian parties. . . ." Käsemann has reasoned that "the first persecution was aimed solely at the Hellenist Christians and, further, according to the accusation directed against Stephen, took place on account of a usage which was interpreted as a break with the Law and cultus and indeed probably was." E. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in his New Testament Questions of Today (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. 118. Thus in Paul's day apparently Rabbinic standards were not used to distinguish acceptable and unacceptable levels of laxity or liberality in regard to Law observance. Indeed, whatever standards were used, there obviously was a fairly sizeable degree of latitude allowed. If, as Smith, op.cit., pp. 262-263, has suggested, persecution was an indicator of the level of toleration (if not of acceptance or approval), then we catch sight of the deeper implications of this issue. Thus, what Paul's opponents were saying (and doing) was presumably permitted while Paul's work was not. Somewhere, presumably at least in part because of his position regarding circumcision, Paul had crossed over the threshold of the unacceptable and the intolerable. Both Smith and Käsemann argue that it was where one actually broke with the Law and cultus--in practice as well as in word--that one passed the point of toleration or acceptability. Galatians would seem to support that.

⁵It ought to be pointed out that 5:3 has a broader implication than merely to suggest (note: it does not explicitly refer to the opponents but rather is couched in the form of a warning to the

Paul's (precise) attitude toward it?

The position here being advocated is that Paul is accusing his opponents of eclectic or selective observance of the Law, while they were accusing him of something like a reverse of that, namely, that he was only selectively rejecting the Law, that he still (at some times and places, carefully selected, of course) observes the Law or at least advocates circumcision. In other words, Paul accuses his opponents of being less consistent in their observance of the Law than presumably they ought to be (at least according to his understanding of the matter), while his opponents charge that Paul is really more of an advocate of the Law than he presumably openly admitted, at least among the Gentile Galatians.

Galatians; only by reference to the broader context, especially to 6:13, can this passage be seen to refer to the opponents) that the opponents do not keep the whole Law. It also suggests that the Galatians might not have been (fully) aware of this fact (as Schmithals has argued, cf. above, p. 84). It might further suggest that such an understanding (as Paul articulates in 5:3) was not universally--or perhaps even widely--held in Paul's day within Jewish or Jewish-Christian circles (cf. Käsemann, op.cit., p. 118, where we find a plausible hypothesis of the motivation for selective observance of the Torah: "If after Easter the community had turned away from the Law of Moses or questioned it in principle, the claim to be the messianic people of God and the mission among the Jews which was bound up with this claim would both have been robbed of all credibility. On the other hand, it could not receive into its ranks the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel' if, like Pharisaism and Qumran, it were to adopt a policy of exclusivism and to insist on a rigorous observance of the whole Torah.") Schmithals has argued that "only isolated in the Jewish-gnostic circles does a radical criticism of the Law appear to have been carried forward" (cf. above pp. 84-5 , esp. n. 62). However, the issue here is broader than "radical" criticism of the Law: what of "moderate" criticism or "modification" or selectivity over against the Law? And most especially, at what point and by what criteria was one considered to be no longer "moderate" but "radical", if we can thus characterize the respective positions toward the Law of Paul and his opponents.

There seems to be no evidence in the text of Galatians, however, to support a supposition that Paul has accused his opponents of "libertinism."⁶ He has indeed accused them of "not themselves keeping the Law" (6:13). But if we combine that charge with what is suggested in 5:3 (everyone who is circumcised is indebted to keep the whole Law), we see that Paul is apparently accusing his opponents not of libertinism but of selective observance of the Law.⁷ On the other hand, there also seems to be very little real

⁶One can question the application of this term "libertine" to either Paul or his opponents on historical as well as theological grounds. The position here advocated is that at this time and place there is no evidence that the charge of "libertinism" had been leveled against Paul, at least not so explicitly or convincingly that Paul was compelled to exert himself over replying to it. At best one could argue that it had perhaps been suggested that Paul's preaching--and personal example--would possibly lead to libertinism. Georgi offers a more cautious suggestion: "the preaching of justification by faith must have appeared to them like an invitation to lawlessness" with his references to 5:1ff. and 5:7ff. To this, however, Georgi adds the further suggestion: "on the other hand, they had no meaning for the 'bourgeois morality' of Paul (5:13ff., 5:26ff., 6:1ff., 6:13 mirror their peculiar individualistic and probably ascetic fulfilling of the Law" cf. above, p. 98). Even Georgi's reasoning, terse and almost cryptic as it is, leaves something to be desired when we look for the real evidence to support his supposition of an "invitation to lawlessness." Of course his precise statement stops short of saying that the charge was actually (explicitly) made. With this more cautious approach I would agree.

⁷The key question now is, what part(s) of the Law were the opponents not observing? First of all it must be noted that there are no passages in this epistle which even remotely resemble the kind of accusation Paul makes in Phil. 3:18-19 (however that passage is to be understood; such a characterization of the opponents presumably would have been too implausible; Paul has not even begun to make such suggestions). This, in turn, leads to the second factor, that is, there seems to be some positive evidence (e.g. 2:21, 4:4, 6:2, and esp. 5:1) with very little negative evidence to the contrary in support of the hypothesis that Paul's opponents were legal rigorists; they rigorously observed the Law--the Law as they understood it. Paul is vigorously exerting himself in his battle against the

evidence that Paul was being accused of libertinism. The most that it seems we can say with certainty is that this charge or one like it was perhaps implied or suggested by those who opposed Paul.

Two passages which have sometimes been adduced to verify that such a charge was in fact being made against Paul at Galatia are Gal. 2:15-18 and 5:13ff. However, as has been shown above,⁸ Rudolf Bultmann has argued that such a polemic is not to be found in the former passage. Similarly, the supposition of such a polemic being present in 5:13ff. also cannot be sustained. The context especially militates against it. Indeed, just as Bultmann has argued for 2:15-18, so it will be argued for 5:13ff., namely, that this is not an apologetic passage at all but rather an aggressive-polemical one.

But what, then, was the force and intention of the charge and counter-charge which we do in fact find in this epistle? And what

opponents' dependence upon Law (cf. 3:1-5 and the discussion above on pp. 144-167). Of course, circumcision and, as has been argued above (cf. pp. 156, 157), other ceremonial or ritual aspects of the Law were obviously most prominent--if not predominant--in their theology and self-understanding. However, it seems to be beyond serious doubt that other aspects of the Law were also being observed, probably explicitly in the light of their understanding of circumcision (and the other more ritualistic aspects.)

In some respects these people seem to be a "throw-back" to the (very) early (Jewish) Christian church (which has been broadly characterized by Käsemann, cf. above, p. 200, n. 4). Georgi's arguments regarding their ties to the Jerusalem apostles would also add support to that. However, their presence in the Gentile mission, with all that that brought with it and implied, adds a new--and very different--dimension to the picture. This would seem to tend to fit well with what appears to be the general (syncretistic) nature of the opponents as described above (pp. 95-98, and esp. 99-124). It has been suggested there that their selectivity was due, at least in part, to their syncretism.

⁸Cf. pp. 133-316.

light does this cast on the theologies which lay behind them? On the one hand, Paul has been charged with "still preaching circumcision", while, on the other hand, he charges that his opponents "do not themselves keep the Law." In the case of Paul we know that he had conceded circumcision to the Jewish Christians⁹ and that he very probably allowed circumcision to be performed in some, perhaps notoriously well known, instances (Timothy: Acts 16:1-3; Titus: Gal. 2:3-5).

EXCURSUS: WAS TITUS CIRCUMCISED?

The issue of the "circumcision" of Titus is a very thorny and highly complex one, beset with problems of grammar and text which greatly complicate the problems of interpretation. The evidence can be summarized under three more specific areas:

(A) Textual: A thorough treatment of this matter is to be found in J. Weiss' work.¹⁰ Weiss opts for the so-called "Western" reading (based especially upon D*) which does not contain the "οἷς οὐδέ" in 2:5 and which, therefore, states that Titus was in fact circumcised. His argument goes as follows:

This reading is not only the oldest but it also inspires confidence, for the reason that it certainly did not owe its origin to an ecclesiastical or dogmatic interest. On the other hand, the usual reading lies under the suspicion of having been forced in the interest of Paul's consistency.¹¹

⁹Cf. W. Schmithals, "Häretiker in Galatien," in his Paulus und die Gnostiker (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965), p. 28.

¹⁰J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), I, 271-273.

¹¹Ibid., I, 271.

Another thorough discussion of the textual-critical issues is presented by E. D. Burton,¹² who supports the usual reading. Burton's understanding is, in turn, called into question by B. W. Bacon,¹³ who relies in part on the studies of Th. Zahn.

(B) Grammatical: This entire section, 2:1-10, contains numerous grammatical and syntactical difficulties. Georgi has argued that the anakoluta in 2:4,6,8,10 indicate that there was a "tension between the effort Paul is making to report in a way that is historically precise and his endeavor to make it current." From this he then concludes that "precisely by this he proves himself genuine."¹⁴ F. C. Burkitt has concisely stated the contrary position: ". . . who can doubt that it was the knife which really did circumcise Titus that has cut the syntax of Gal. 2:3-5 to pieces?"¹⁵ The most difficult grammatical problem to be solved, of course, if one is to maintain that Titus was not circumcised, is vs. 4. Vs. 3 has stated in a reasonably clear way that the Jerusalem leaders, when confronted with the issue of Titus (privately: vs. 2), did not require or "compel" his circumcision. Vs. 4 then seems to interrupt this trend, both grammatically and in the sequence of events. Not only do we

¹²E. D. Burton, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1920), 75-86.

¹³B. W. Bacon, "The Reading $\alpha\lambda\lambda' \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ in Galatians 2:5," Journal of Biblical Literature, XLII (1923), 69-80.

¹⁴D. Georgi, Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Reich, 1965), pp. 14-15.

¹⁵F. C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings (London: University of London Press, 1924), p. 118.

have an anakoluthon in 2:4 but co-ordinated with that is the presence of the "δε" at the beginning of the verse. This seems almost certainly to be an adversative, indicating a contrast to something that has just been said. Is it not plausible to conclude that it is nothing else than the circumcision of Titus which is here being discussed with this "δε"? Is this suggesting, then, that vs. 3 has told us the circumstances under which Titus was not circumcised, namely, by requirement of the Jerusalem leaders, while vs. 4 tells the circumstances under which he was circumcised, namely, the treachery of "false brothers"?

(C) Contextual: The point of emphasis in the narrower context (2:1-6) seems to be the question of authority. In addition to the matters already raised in discussion of vvs. 3-4, some of which have direct bearing on this matter of authority, vvs. 1-2 also had already brought up the issue. Mentioning of the reason for Paul's going--a revelation (of God)--seems to have as its objective an establishing of the fact, or at least an underscoring of the fact, of parity between Paul and the "δοκοῦντες". The fact that he intended to meet only with them (κατ' ἰδίαν, vs. 2) seems to point in this direction also as well as preparing for Paul's emphasis on the conspiratorial nature of the activities of the "false brothers" (vs. 4). Vs. 6 again returns to the matter of the parity relationship between Paul and the "δοκοῦντες": "they added nothing to me."¹⁶ All of this, then,

¹⁶The "προσάναρτίθῃμι" seems to mean (only) "add or contribute something to someone" (cf. W. Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), s.v.

also leads to the mentioning of what seems to be a key term in this context as well as in the epistle as a whole, compelling: "Titus was not compelled to be circumcised." This is in vs. 3, in the discussion of Paul's meeting (privately) with the "δοκούντες"; they did not (could not?) compel Titus to be circumcised. J. Weiss has argued that this "not compelled" is here emphasized, that is to say, Titus was in fact circumcised but not by compulsion. It came about through a combination of the intrigue of the "false brothers" and Paul's (Titus') free choice.¹⁷ What seems to add weight to this argument that the "compelling" is here being emphasized is the fact that it recurs in 2:14 and 6:12. Both of those passages are places where precisely this taking over of the Law observance is the topic of discussion. The latter of these passages is especially instructive. There Paul is presumably speaking about his Galatian opponents when he says: "They compel you (the Galatians) to be circumcised." This is then not only striking confirmation of Paul's vehement rejection of the "compelling" of circumcision, but it also seems to answer the question as to why there was so much interest in the "Titus affair" in Galatia some years later that Paul finds it necessary to discuss it here in this epistle. He apparently views the work of these Galatian opponents as being in general, at least, similar or perhaps even identical to that of the "false brothers." (The parallelism of the "Titus affair" and the Galatian problem is carried further by Paul when he characterizes both as "slavery"--

¹⁷Weiss, op.cit., I, 271-272.

2:4 and 5:1, which is presumably slavery to the Law and which is presumably closely allied with this very same "compelling.")

This discussion of 6:12 in turn also leads to another aspect of the context of the "Titus affair," namely the question of the relationship between advocating circumcision and avoiding persecution. If, as has been argued,¹⁸ there is a relationship between what Paul says of his opponents in 6:12 and his reaction to what appears to be an accusation made against him in 5:11, then this also provides some more general context to the "Titus affair": 5:11 could then be read with more or less direct reference to that incident.

Perhaps the most vexing question of all relating to the "Titus affair" is this: why is this text muddled? Why is it as difficult as it is to ascertain what exactly happened in Jerusalem in relation to Titus? Georgi has argued that the anakolutha in 2:4, 6, 8, 10 indicate that there was a "tension between the effort Paul is making to report in a way that is historically precise and his endeavor to prove himself genuine."¹⁹ And yet it is an "historically precise report" which is just what we do not have here. Rather, J. Weiss has argued that "Paul assumes that a rough outline of what happened is already known to his readers." What Paul is now doing, according to Weiss, is "guarding himself against misrepresentation and misunderstanding." This, of course, then

¹⁸Cf. above, pp. 199-201, esp. n. 4.

¹⁹Georgi, op.cit., pp. 14-15.

affects the nature of Paul's narrative: "he therefore does not tell the story uninterruptedly, but just brings out the points which are important to him for some reason or other." Thus it is that above all else "it is his motives that he brings into such marked prominence and in the same way the inner side of events; thus the outer side is treated rather too briefly."²⁰ In other words, Paul seems to be endeavoring to explain why Titus was circumcised and how this event can be squared with his own position regarding circumcision. At the same time he links in a deeply polemical way the activities, which to him seem conspiratorial, of the "false brothers" and those of the heretics now active in Galatia.²¹

What can be said, in the light of these things, about the reason(s) for the (occasional) acceptance of the Law, or conversely, about the basis for Paul's rejection of the Law? And why was his work so much more objectionable than that of his opponents? An answer to the latter question has been proposed by Morton Smith, who maintains that "especially dangerous would be the permission of occasional conformity, which could easily be made an excuse for hypocrisy and would make it possible for legally impure and untrustworthy men to penetrate observant communities."²² But in the

²⁰Weiss, op.cit., I, 258-259.

²¹Another segment of the context which surely has bearing on this matter is 2:7-10, where Paul clearly states that in his understanding circumcision did indeed have a role in the church. Cf. below, p. 212.

²²Smith, op.cit., p. 263. Smith's argumentation is very perceptive and concise. One can perhaps question his reasoning with regard to Paul's motivation (e.g. pp. 262, 263).

case of Paul's Galatian opponents, as we have seen, we have to do with a group which also did not necessarily have the most inclusive understanding of the Law. Thus Smith's observation must be accepted with caution. Rather, the situation as we can see it in Galatia seems to have been a clear instance of what happened under the pressures and counter-pressures of the Gentile mission of the early Christian church. There was for all--for Paul as well as for his opponents--who were engaged in the mission a great and very real urgency to get on with the work, to follow the triumphant Christ in pushing the frontiers of the church ever farther out and to do so with alacrity. But at the same time there was the counter-pressure to hold onto what had served well in the past--even when this was not only a hindrance (at times) to greater success but also when there were tendencies from within the movement which was sweeping them into mission to find or adopt a newer theology and self-understanding. To put it another way, there was great tension between what was deeply felt and believed to be God's will from the past and on the other hand what seemed so compellingly to be God's will and plan in the present and for the future. The Galatian opponents of Paul had arrived at one solution to this tension: Law plus faith (3:1-5) which, in turn brought or sealed (perfected) Spirit-possession. Paul had arrived at a different resolution of that same tension.

Paul's position is basically clear: if one wants to observe the Law (e.g. to become circumcised), he must observe all of it or find himself under a curse (3:10, 5:3). No matter how rigorously or enthusiastically (in the full sense of that word!) one advocated

or practiced certain elements or parts of the Law, if one neglected or rejected other parts he was still culpable or "cursed" (3:10). Or conversely, if one conceded the possibility of not adhering to one or the other part of that Law, he thereby also admitted that all other parts were no longer mandatory (this seems to be the point of the "Peter episode" recounted in 2:11-14). One now did not any longer need to keep the Law--it was no longer obligatory. However, it was still permissible for those who might freely (not by compulsion!) choose to do so. In other words, the Law was no longer a sine qua non for salvation. It was optional (2:7-10). But as far as salvation is concerned, it is not both Law and faith. It is either Law or faith (2:15-21, 3:1-5). The dangers and liabilities of adopting the former means and the advantages and benefits of the latter together with a theological and exegetical argumentation are to be found in 3:6-4:7. Thus, insofar as salvation is concerned, Paul is a thorough-going opponent of the Law. However, insofar as there might be other reasons for adopting the Law or continuing in it (e.g. cultural), Paul is presumably not a thorough-going opponent of it. Thus all of chapter 2 (vvs. 7-10, 11-14, 15-21 as well as 1-6) must be examined as background for the interpretation and understanding of 5:11 (as well as 5:3 and 6:12-13).²³

²³There is not sufficient opportunity here to examine thoroughly the argumentation of Schweitzer in regard to his discussion of what he calls "Paul's status quo decision." A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (London: Black, 1967), pp. 193-194. Although one might not fully agree with Schweitzer's thesis and his interpretation of the passages on which he bases it (esp. 1 Cor. 7:17, 20), he has

From this perspective 5:11 can be better understood. When Paul is accused of "preaching" circumcision, this presumably means that he is charged with requiring it, and requiring it for salvation. That someone may--with malicious intent (possibly the "false brothers" who had "set out to spy out our freedom") or simply out of misunderstanding--have been confusing Paul's permitting circumcision with a requiring of it seems likely. The fact that Paul had apparently openly (2:7-10 and, as argued here, 2:3-5) agreed to allowing circumcision if not required for salvation compounded his problem of clarifying his position and made the charges of his opponents more plausible. That the requirement of circumcision for salvation is for Paul mutually exclusive of the preaching of the death of Jesus Christ as the saving event is repeated in 5:11b. This at the same time, then, harks back to 2:15-21 as well as to such passages as 3:1-5. But it presumably also points forward to what might have been implied in the expression "the Law of Christ" (6:2).

laid his finger on a basic problem for an adequate interpretation and understanding of Paul's theology and specifically for the Epistle to the Galatians. He argues: "The fact that it (Paul's status quo decision) enjoins on some what it forbids to others, gives rise to misinterpretation from both sides. Thus, while some asserted that Paul was misleading the Jews of the Diaspora to abandon the Law (Acts 21:21), others, as we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians, were spreading the report that he himself was still preaching circumcision which he had forbidden to the Gentile Christians (Gal. 5:11)" (*Ibid.*, p. 197). The position here advocated is that, while Schweitzer has set out the problematic of the situation as it might or must have appeared in Paul's day (and also in Schweitzer's!), his solutions or answers are not satisfactory on the basis of our present understanding of the evidence.

PART 2: THE "LAW OF CHRIST" IN CONTEXT

GALATIANS 5:13-6:2

Verses 13-15.

Verse 13. This verse has three distinct parts. In part "a" we find the general or basic underlying fact: "you were called to freedom." This part, this statement serves as the basis for what follows, both immediately and more generally in the entire section. Part "b" obviously is based upon part "a". It is an encouragement, an exhortation, or perhaps better: a warning, about possible (or already real) developments regarding the freedom stated in part "a". It should also then be observed that in both of these respects this verse is parallel to 5:1. Furthermore, the subject of both verses, 5:1 and 5:13, is freedom and the warning comprising part "b" of those verses is about the threat to it. Thus there is a formal as well as a material parallelism between 5:13 and 5:1.

Now the question is, is the parallelism in content a positive one or is it an antithetical one, as seems to be suggested by many commentators? In 5:1 the discussion of freedom was from the perspective that the Galatians were about to lose it by submitting themselves to the Law. This, of course, is fully understandable and consistent with what we find throughout the epistle. Indeed, 5:2-12 has been a discussion of what submission to the Law involves and implies and the alternative to it.²⁴ By submitting

²⁴Cf. above, p. 163 , esp. n. 78 , for a discussion of

to the Law one gets himself into debt (5:3); he loses the benefits gained for him by Christ (5:2). Indeed, he loses the very freedom for which he has been freed by Christ. Vs. 13 then picks up the discussion of freedom again. In 5:1 the point was freedom threatened by slavery to the Law or legalism. That such a discussion was called forth by the (historical) circumstances of the epistle is self-evident, seen also in vvs. 2-12. In 5:13 the point is--to put it as Paul does--"freedom which is used as an opportunity for the flesh." Is the statement an antithetical parallel to 5:1 or not? Is this chapter a matter of 5:1 reflecting how freedom is threatened by Law or legalism and 5:13 showing how it is threatened by lawlessness?²⁵ In other words, the question now is: what is meant by "νόμος"? Does it suggest--or perhaps even require--the interpretation "lawlessness" or "libertinism"? Might it suggest--or perhaps by the context require--another meaning? In order to proceed further in that direction it is necessary at this point to ask about the third part of this verse.

What is the role of 5:13c in this discussion as we see it

5:2-12 against the background of the circumstances of the epistle.

²⁵So H. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1962), ad loc; also G. Bornkamm, "Die christliche Freiheit," in his Das Ende des Gesetzes, (München: Kaiser, 1958), pp. 134-135; Burton, op.cit., ad loc; J.B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (London: Macmillan, 1881), ad loc remarks of 5:13b: "Here he suddenly checks himself to avoid misunderstanding; 'liberty and not licence.' It may be that here, as in the Corinthian Church, a party opposed to the Judaizers had shown a tendency to Antinomian excess."

developing here? What is its role in the broader discussion taking place in the epistle as a whole? Does it have polemical importance in the debate, or is it meant simply in a general way as a warning to avoid falling victim to "the flesh", that is, falling into lawlessness by abuse of freedom?²⁶ If it does have polemical value for Paul's case against his opponents, then it gives insight into the meaning of "σάρξ" here, that is, into the specific nuances of meaning attached to that term here, in this epistle generally and in the debate as a whole. 5:13c seems quite obviously to be an exegesis or explanation of 5:13b, albeit by way of contrast. This is indicated by the "ἀλλὰ".²⁷ In other words, 13c seems to be the opposite--the positive side--of 13b. This brings us back, then, to the term "σάρξ". The explanation or exegesis of 13b which is provided in 13c would seem to be a very specific exegesis of the term "flesh." Thus "σάρξ" is contrasted to the "serve one another through love." In other words, for Paul here there is a relation-

²⁶R. W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutic and Word of God (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 254-255 has argued in dependence upon Martin Dibelius that this section of the epistle does not have reference to any specific circumstances: "The closest parallels to the style of James in the New Testament are certain sections in the Pauline letters, and these are precisely the passages which are apparently not epistolary in character, i.e., which do not seem to have a specific situation in view. Dibelius cites 1 Thess. 4:1-12, Gal. 5:13-6:10, Rom. 12 and 13, Col. 3 and 4 as examples. These passages are not only distinctive in style, but apparently draw on a tradition the formation of which lies behind Paul."

²⁷F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), § 447.

ship between "freedom" and "serving others through love." Or, to express the negative, there apparently would be a relationship between "flesh" and disregard of others, lack of love. This, then, is the thesis which now stands to be tested.

First of all, what is suggested about the term "σάρξ" in other quarters of this epistle?²⁸ Among the several passages where the term occurs there is one which seems to have direct bearing here. That is 3:3. In that passage Paul has described the opponents' desire for (and perhaps attainment of!) "pneumatic perfection." From that passage it becomes clear that the opponents' means to perfection, to the status as "πνευματικοί" is "ἔργα νόμου". That status or self-understanding, then, Paul there ridicules or describes with biting irony as "σὰρξ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι", as "ending in the flesh."²⁹ Presumably their self-understanding as "pneumatics" allowed (compelled?!) them to understand themselves as being above (certain aspects of) concrete historical/ethical reality or responsibility. This is not to suggest, however, that they were guilty

²⁸The commentaries seem, without exception, to look for the meaning of this term without reference to its specific use in this epistle, overlooking especially 3:3. However, R. Bultmann, Primitive Christianity in the Contemporary Setting (New York: World, 1956), p. 192 does refer to 3:3, although he cites that passage as a contrast to 5:19ff. Cf. also R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 239-240: "When (Gal.) 5:13 warns against misusing Christian freedom as an 'opportunity for the flesh,' the antithesis in vv. 14, 15 shows that what is meant is natural human self-seeking. . . . The accusation that the Corinthians are still 'of the flesh' is evidenced by the fact that 'jealousy and strife' prevail in the congregation (1 Cor. 3:3)."

²⁹For a more detailed discussion of this, cf. above, p. 145 n. 40 and especially pp. 155-159.

of or were falling victim to "libertinism" or lawlessness. On the contrary, as has been shown in 3:1-5, these opponents obviously understood spirit-possession to come via Law observance, that is, observance of the Law as they understood it. And as comes clear in the verses that follow here, their understanding of the Law excluded--perhaps even precluded--responsibility in concrete ethical/historical circumstances, in inter-personal relationships. In short, Paul finds it necessary to counter their type of legalism with emphasis on "love" as well as calling attention to their failings in specific situations of their inter-personal relationships.

Thus it is maintained here that the opponents' concept of "freedom" (as contrasted to Paul's concept of freedom) corresponded to their concept of "spirit" and their self-understanding as "πνευματικοί". Their "freedom" is thus related to their status as "πνευματικοί", which, in turn, is allied with Law observance. All of this Paul describes with the term "flesh"--and obviously in a way that not only does not require the connotation of "lawlessness" or "libertinism", but which quite apparently seems to run directly contrary to it. "Freedom" for them included a legalism which excluded concern for others ("Love") and which drove them in spirit-enthusiasm to envy, jealousy, dissension. This can be seen most clearly from the verses that follow.

Verse 14. Consistent with this, then, 5:14 picks up the theme of the Law. For those who look for the meaning of "σάρξ" in a libertinism or lawlessness this appearance of Law would have to be

a most sudden and probably inexplicable phenomenon. Although there has been no explicit mention of the Law in v. 13, it is "suddenly" introduced into the discussion here by the connective "γὰρ". The presence of this "γὰρ" would seem to indicate that the subject of the Law has not only not been "suddenly" introduced here but that it was to be expected. Now it can still be argued that the subject of the Law has been picked up here from the discussion of it in 5:1-12 and not from vs. 13. However, militating against that supposition is the fact that 5:13 would then be a meaningless intrusion of the subject of "lawlessness" into a context which is otherwise deeply engrossed in a discussion of the Law!

Rather, as has been suggested above, this discussion of the Law, far from being a sudden intrusion, is quite consistent with what is suggested in 5:13. As Bultmann has argued, vv. 14 and 15 show what is meant by "opportunity for the flesh" in vs. 13: natural human self-seeking.³⁰ More specifically, however, this is meant not just in a general way, but very specifically in view of the situation or larger context of the epistle. That the Law could be and indeed was summarized with the injunction: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" presumably goes back behind Paul. It is a summary which he has apparently picked up from current circulation.³¹

³⁰Bultmann, Theology, I, 239.

³¹Cf. Lev. 19:18, Matt. 22:39-40 (5:43); Paul himself uses this summary of the Law elsewhere, cf. Rom. 13:8-10. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (München: Beck, 1926), 353-364, 907-908 discuss the rabbinic occurrences of love as the summary of the Law. Cf. also E. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in his op.cit., p. 118.

In what way would such a summary of the Law have been understood and received? This presumably is a sharpening of the Law³²--most probably here a sharpening to a polemical point, which was aimed at the legalism of Paul's opponents, or more precisely, aimed at them for the benefit of the Galatians. This we can see from the next verse. The summary itself was in current use in the Christian community at Paul's time. That he chooses to pick it up and use it here apparently stems from polemical motivations.

Verse 15. Of this verse Burton says that "the form of the conditional clause and the tense of the verbs imply that the apostle has in mind a condition which he knows to be, or think may be, even now existing."³³ Burton calls the two present tenses conative presents while the "ἀναλωθήτε" is a resultative aorist. All three verbs call to mind the habits of animals engaged in combat.³⁴ The central question here is, to what is Paul referring? Most commentators seem to be in agreement that the activity of Paul's opponents has in some way or other brought this situation into being. Schlier remarks that "it is not clear what kind of hostilities they

³²Käsemann, Ibid., speaks of a "sharpening of the Torah" as the outcome and result of the commandment of Love in the post-Easter community: "we can only speak of a sharpening of the Torah among them (the so-called 'am-ha-aretz') in the sense that the requirement of love provided the Mosaic law and the tradition of the fathers with a core of content and thus radicalized it."

³³Burton, op.cit., ad loc.

³⁴So Burton, Schlier, Lietzmann. Schlier gives instances of the occurrence of these words in a wide variety of sources.

were which were rending the congregation." However, he does link the misuse of freedom (which is presumably still the subject of discussion) with a violation of love and conjectures that "that hostility which (Paul) has in mind rests on such disposition as is seen in vv. 5:26ff. and readily arises out of a misunderstanding of pneuma-possession." He adds that perhaps this reveals the jealousy of an inauthentic spiritualism.³⁵ The summary of this verse given by Lietzmann, however, is especially appropriate:

V. 15 is perhaps not entirely comprehensible; it must refer to party-feuds within the Galatian congregation of which v. 26ff. also speaks. It would be most natural to trace the splintering of the congregation back to the hostile judaistic intrigues and to place on the same level the special emphasis on its counterpart--serving love--together with the exhortation of 6:2. By the *δίκναι* and *κατεσθίειν* is meant first of all the arrogant judging combatted in 6:1,3, which, of course, would have elicited biting replies.³⁶

The beauty of Lietzmann's argument is that he sets it very firmly into its context. His argument that the "spiritualizers" polemicized against Paul and laid the "sins of the erring brother" at the door of Paul as the "consequence of the teaching of freedom" cannot be

³⁵Schlier, op.cit., ad loc. Although with the conjecture about "an inauthentic spiritualism" Schlier does not, like Bultmann (cf. Theology, I, 239-240), refer to 1 Cor. 3:3, this would seem to be a valid parallel in such a line of argumentation. Here, however, Paul does not explicitly (and probably not even implicitly) accuse them of such "inauthentic spiritualism." To use this phrase or to pronounce this judgment would seem to be an historical judgment which is perhaps not justified in the text (i.e. in the fact). Rather, as we shall see in more detail below, Paul grants that they (some of them) are "*πνευματικοί*", obviously their own self-designation which Paul does not dispute, indeed, which he uses himself in addressing them. And in so designating them he simultaneously also urges them on to a course of action which is in keeping with such status. This is clearly visible not only in 6:1 but also in 5:17.

³⁶Lietzmann, op.cit., ad loc.

sustained. These opponents of Paul surely had a doctrine of freedom.^{36a} More likely, they had been saying that as "πνευματικοί" they were qualified to pass judgment upon those who had not (yet) attained that status. This, presumably, was within the scope of their freedom possibly even being understood as their responsibility.

Verses 16-18.

Here we meet the term "flesh" again as a key concept. And again in this verse it is not entirely clear what is implied by that term. Again we must look to the context for the implications of what is meant here by "σάρξ". These three verses are here taken together, with vs. 18 being understood as a kind of summary of vv. 16-18. Another key term here is "ἐπιθυμία". What might this mean? Burton defines it (and its cognate) as follows:

Ἐπιθυμία and ἐπιθυμέω, both occurring in classical writers from Herodotus down, properly express desire of any kind (ἐπί - θυμός, "heart for," "impulse towards"). In classical writers ἐπιθυμία means "desire," "yearning," "longing," In the Lxx and Apocr. ἐπιθυμία occurs frequently, being used of desire shown by the context to be good (Ps. 37:10), or evil (Prov. 12:12), or without implication of moral quality (Deut. 12:15, 20, 21). . . .³⁷

While taking note of this general meaning of "ἐπιθυμία" also in Paul's epistles,³⁸ Bultmann has also observed the confluence of this

^{36a}Cf. E. Käsemann, Jesus Means Freedom (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969). In this book, especially in chapter 2, Käsemann has given a lucid description of the longing for freedom in the Hellenistic world, visible everywhere.

³⁷Burton, op.cit., ad loc.

³⁸Bultmann, Theology, I, 224-225.

term with "σάρξ" in this context. Indeed, it is the linking of "desire" on the one hand with "flesh" and on the other hand with "spirit" that gives to it its negative and positive connotations respectively. Thus here it is the "flesh" which "desires" (cf. also v. 24). What is meant by this here is suggested by Bultmann: "Clearly a life 'after the flesh' is a life of 'desire'--a life of self-reliant pursuit of one's own ends." By way of further elaboration he has also observed: "To the category of conduct 'according to the flesh' belongs above all zealous fulfilment of the Torah" as in Gal. 3:3 where this is not "sensual passions" but "observance of the Torah."³⁹ This seems clearly enough to be the meaning of this expression in this context.

Furthermore, Paul here reiterates that spirit and flesh are mutually contradictory, indeed, are at war with each other (v. 17). The suggestion being made here very broadly by Paul is, of course, that the Galatians, for whom "spirit" was obviously very important, ought to recognize "flesh" and shun it. A person cannot go in both directions. This again, as was argued in the case of 5:13, does not seem to be a broad and generalized discussion but rather one pointed very specifically. In this section again the meaning of "the flesh" does not become clear at its first occurrence but can be seen in v. 18.⁴⁰ There "spirit", which in v. 17 is shown to

³⁹Ibid., I, 241, 240. Bultmann also notes the role of arrogance in this form of conduct, a fact which apparently has bearing in this situation in Galatia.

⁴⁰The parallelism or correlation between 5:16 and 5:18 has previously been noted (cf. e.g. Schlief, op.cit., ad loc.). The

be at war with "flesh", is set in contrast to "Law." Thus, in confirmation of the argument of Bultmann and in a fashion quite parallel to 3:1-5 and 5:13-15 it seems that here also "flesh" and "Law" are allied or set into a "line-up" by Paul. In this way he is obviously attempting to show to the "spirit-conscious" Galatians what it is that they might be getting themselves into. Together "flesh" and "Law" are contrasted to or lined up against "spirit". And the argument which Paul had carried out in 3:1-5--either spirit (and Christ) or Law--is picked up again here and reasserted.

Verses 19-24.

In this section we find a continuation of the theme of the fore-going. Here in the form of the catalogs we find a kind of explanation or elaboration of the terms "flesh" and "spirit". This catalog form has been examined in some detail elsewhere and is here not the subject of investigation.⁴¹

correlation, however, is more than the linking of "flesh" and "Law". It is also to be found in the verbs "περιπατεῖτε" and "ἄγεσθε". Siegfried Wibbing, Die Tugend und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1959), pp. 110-111 has noted that at Qumran ethics in the "two-power-thought" context finds the reoccurrence of the "central concept" **טב**. Thus he titles the entire section (5:16-24) under the theme: περιπατεῖν. Thus the unity of the entire section can be observed. Furthermore, the parallelism between 5:18 and 5:23 should also be noted. The two statements about freedom from the Law serve in a way as parentheses or brackets, setting off what comes between, namely, the catalogs. In others words, Paul seems to want to make perfectly clear not only what freedom from the Law implies for life and conduct, but also that these catalogs are in no way to be construed (presumably when taken together) as a (new) "Law" (of Christ?).

⁴¹Most recently by Ehrhard Kamlah, Die Form der Katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964). Also Wibbing,

The dualism of these catalogs, including those found in this section, has been noticed and discussed, especially in its similarity to Qumran and other apocalyptic texts.⁴² Furthermore, the fact that we find such a catalog of virtues and vices at Qumran would tend to counter any possible argument that might suggest that simply because Paul includes them here we have an indication that libertine tendencies had begun to appear in Galatia. As a matter of fact, reading this section solely with this assumption might possibly lead to an overlooking of some of the distinctive features which are actually to be found here, some of which seem to point in an altogether different direction. These catalogs are very important for the whole discussion of the issues that are at stake in Galatia.⁴³

On the one hand, however, it must be said that although Paul might be borrowing traditional elements, he is actually warning/encouraging the Galatians about the things here enumerated. But on the other hand, when compared to other catalogs (e.g. others in the New Testament, at Qumran, and from the street philosopher-preachers), we see a particular emphasis here, namely, that virtue (if we may use this term which is not actually in the text but seems

op.cit., and Funk, op.cit., pp. 254-256. Other secondary sources are cited in these works.

⁴²Kamlah, op.cit., p. 15, n. 1, p. 27 and n. 1. Schlier, op.cit., ad loc. Wibbing, op.cit., pp. 108-117, who also correctly emphasizes the eschatological direction which this dualism takes, pp. 114-117.

⁴³This is said in spite of Kamlah's argument that the catalogs have neither a directly paraenetic nor polemical character. Kamlah, op.cit., p. 27.

to facilitate expression here) is not simply a personal, private, individual matter. It is that, of course, but for Paul in this situation it is also much more than that. Virtue also involves an interpersonal or social or community emphasis or dimension. This presumably is a polemical note called forth by the specific situation which Paul sees in Galatia.

Verse 19. The reappearance of "σάρξ" here suggests the facility with which Paul moves in interchanging or associating this term with others of this and the fore-going sections. It is in this light that the dualism which comes to the surface again here (by the contrast of the "ἔργα τ. σαρκός" with the "καρπὸς τ. πνεύματος" mentioned below, v. 22) must be viewed, namely, by the intimate association of "Law" and "flesh". Although the verb here is present--a fact important in itself in an apocalyptic/dualistic context--, there is also an "eschatological reservation" to be found in this framework, as can be seen from the future tense of the verb at the end of the catalog ("κληρονομήσουσιν", v. 21).⁴⁴

Verses 20-21. The content of the catalog is of great importance. This has been studied by Wibbing, especially in comparison with other catalogs, both within and outside of the New Testament.⁴⁵

⁴⁴The presence of catalogs in astrological texts or the presence of astrological connotations in the contexts of many catalogs in various Hellenistic sources has been noted by Karl Prumm (cf. above, p. 170, n. 1) and Kamlah, op.cit., pp. 137-139.

⁴⁵Wibbing, op.cit., pp. 86-108. Schlier also provides much helpful and important background material, citing various passages where the different terms are found in parallel sources.

From this it becomes apparent that some of the terms are frequently attested throughout the New Testament, occurring in many or all of the catalogs (so, e.g. "πορνεία", "ἀκαθαρσία", "ἀσέλγεια", and "εἰδωλολατρία"). Others, however, are found only in this of all the New Testament catalogs (i.e., "δικοσταςία" and "αἵρεσις"), terms which are also unattested in the catalogs of the popular philosopher-preachers.⁴⁶ Wibbing has argued that the presence of these two terms here, and their association with each other, can be traced to the situation in Galatia.⁴⁷ Although he notes that "ἔχθραι" also occurs only here and is not attested in the catalogs of the New Testament and of the philosopher-preachers, he has (inexplicably!) not drawn the same conclusion about this term as about the two just previously discussed.⁴⁸ Wibbing has also concluded that the entire group of terms ("ἔρις", "ζήλος", "θυμοί", and "ἐριθεΐαι") appear to be a kind of formula, since they occur together in this very same order in 2 Cor. 12:20-21.⁴⁹ It should also be noticed that

⁴⁶Wibbing, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-97. Wibbing has observed that the absence of this term in the catalogs of vices of the popular philosopher-preachers is not surprising since they are failings which trouble or make fellowship impossible, and Paul did speak to congregations while the wandering preacher-philosophers did not.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 96. Wibbing points to Gal. 1:6ff. as the passage which indicates that dissention, party-spirits, and factionalism presumably were troubling these people.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, Wibbing also suggests that "ἔχθραι" and "ἐριθεΐαι", because they are so similar, serve to underscore and emphasize the "ἔρις".

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 97. That these four terms might comprise a kind of formula does not preclude their having been inserted here by Paul for very specific reason--the problems he might feel are troubling the Galatians.

"φθόγοι", although it is found in other catalogs, is repeated in 5:26 (in participial form) with obviously specific reference to the situation at hand. In addition it should be noted that this term comes in immediate sequence with the two judged by Wibbing to have been placed together in this catalog by Paul for polemical purposes.

What, then, is the over-all implication of this catalog? Johannes Weiss has argued that "certain of the main ethical requirements recur frequently in a formal way in the letters of Paul like pieces of an early Christian catechism. . . ."50 He then goes on to suggest that the injunctions against certain kinds of sins, most especially sexual transgressions, had been a prominent part of Jewish propaganda. "It was the boast of the Jews of the Dispersion that from the point of view of sexual purity and healthy family life they were far removed from the looseness and perversity of the Greek mode of life."51 This, then, might have been the reason, by pointed design or merely as part of a formula, why Paul includes here the first several items. The last two items, Weiss suggests, (i.e., "drunkenness, carousing") might be included in Paul's exhortations for eschatological reasons: "the expectation of the imminent arrival of the Lord. . . . Hence the call to sobriety and vigilance."52 Other items frequently included in Paul's exhortations are "idolatry"

⁵⁰Weiss, op.cit., I, 254.

⁵¹Ibid., I, 255, with reference to Josephus, Con. Ap. II (§§ 199-202).

⁵²Ibid., I, 254.

(and sorcery), crimes against property, and "everything which offended against love."⁵³ What Weiss has not spelled out is that there is no mention in Galatians of the "crimes against property" (occurring frequently in 1 Corinthians), while there is a very heavy emphasis on the offenses against love--also in the catalog of virtues.⁵⁴

The distinctive nature of the catalog of vices in Galatians can be seen, however, when compared or contrasted to a similar list from Qumran (1 QS iv, 9-11). After comparing the two W. D. Davies has concluded that "the list in Galatians, despite its points of similarity. . . . is more directed against 'heretical' tendencies to disunity. The Qumran list concentrates on the immoral tendencies within the community."⁵⁵ Not only should the distinctiveness of the Galatians catalog in its emphasis on "tendencies to disunity" be observed, but it should also be noted that Davies argues that the Qumran list of vices is drawn up with very specific reference to the "tendencies within (the Qumran) community." If this argument of Davies can be sustained, one could then infer that similar

⁵³Ibid., I, 256.

⁵⁴In this connection he cites only passages from Galatians (why he overlooked or omitted 2 Corinthians is unknown). But why Weiss was not more precise about the distinctive features of the individual letters is not clear, especially in view of his usual sensitivity to such matters (cf. above, pp. 51-62.)

⁵⁵W.D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in The Scrolls and the New Testament (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 170. Herbert Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), I, 214 agrees with Davies on this point, although he disagrees with Davies' conclusion that the Galatians Judaizers were influenced by Qumran (p. 213).

specific application or reference could--perhaps: would--have been made with the drawing up of other catalogs.

Finally, the latter part of v. 21 ("those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God"⁵⁶) is also very important in the totality of the epistle. This summary statement of the catalog of vices must have been aimed at confronting the "heretics" with the fact of their relationship to God, based as it was on Law: God is distant from them, not near at hand (as in grace, righteousness). What is near to them is the judgment (cf. 6:1,7f. where similar emphasis is repeated).⁵⁷ This statement seems to be traditional (cf. 1 Cor. 6:9-10, 15:50, also Eph. 5:5).

Verses 22-23. The significance of the presence of the term "καρπός" here as contrasted to the "ἔργα" when referring to the flesh has been discussed by Schlier.⁵⁸ This catalog of virtues is also largely--perhaps entirely--traditional, as can be seen by the presence of the various terms in other catalogs. However, just as in the case of various terms appearing in the catalog of vices, so also here there might be (much) more significance in various terms

⁵⁶For the significance of the expression "βασιλεία θεοῦ" (esp. noting the absence of the article with "θεοῦ"), cf. Kamlah, op.cit., p. 14f., n. 2; Wibbing, op.cit., p. 115; Schlier, op.cit., ad loc., etc.

⁵⁷This is essentially the argument of Käsemann in reference to a different situation but which seems to have applicability also here. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in his New Testament Questions of Today, p. 123. Cf. also Kamlah, op.cit., pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸Schlier, op.cit., ad loc.

than simply a (mechanical) use of tradition. For example, the term "ἀγάπη" occurs in a context where a number of important themes or emphases come together and focus attention on some of the key issues involved in the debate going on here (5:6). It also occurs several times in this immediate context (5:13, 14), again with apparent reference to the specific situation at hand. Likewise another member of this catalog (πραΰτης) reoccurs in this context (6:1), and again it apparently has direct refernece to what is perhaps the crux of the problem at hand.

That the final member of this verse, the reference to the Law, is parallel to v. 18 has already been mentioned. Paul seems at this point to want to re-emphasize that going the way of the Spirit means freedom from the Law. It is significant that this statement is made here. It is clearly polemical in intention.⁵⁹ Paul seems to be placing special emphasis here on the fact that 'good conduct'--including some of the points which must have been touchy for the Galatians--was not something which required the Law to bring it about. Indeed, the Spirit produced it.⁶⁰

Verse 24. Kamlah has argued that this verse especially brings to the fore-ground the association between the catalog and the concept "the body of Christ".⁶¹ This fact has perhaps even greater

⁵⁹Wilhelm Lütgert, Gesetz und Geist (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1919), p. 18, argues that this statement proves that Paul is addressing (a group of) people who do not retain the validity of the Law.

⁶⁰Cf. Kamlah, op.cit., pp. 17-18 for a very interesting discussion of this verse.

significance than Kamlah recognizes. That Paul at this point chooses to emphasize ecclesiology is not fully explained by the fact that he customarily links baptism and incorporation into the "body of Christ" with the imperatival emphasis for the Christian life. As has been continually mentioned and argued, this entire section--indeed, the epistle itself!--emphasizes interpersonal relationships, "especially (among those who are) of the household of faith" (6:10). In other words, Paul is frequently returning to the topic of the "body of Christ" and those things occurring among the Galatians which disrupt the unity of the "body". Thus for Paul to move expressly and explicitly into a discussion of this topic here, far from being either surprising or a matter of habit for the apostle, is something which seems to be something which is very natural and appropriate in the context of this entire epistle and its on-going and developing discussion.

Verses 25-26 and 6:1.

Verse 25. The problematic of this statement, namely, the problem of the relationship of the indicative and the imperative, has been the subject of various studies and investigations. Probably still the most lucid and important one is the famous essay of 1924 by Rudolf Bultmann.⁶² This statement, "If we live by the Spirit,

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁶²An extension of that discussion of the indicative and the imperative in Pauline theology is not forthcoming here. It ought to be noted, however, that in the expression "the Law of Christ",

let us also walk by the Spirit," could, of course, mean different things in different contexts. The question here is, what does this context suggest about its meaning? The preceding context has, for the most part, given answer to that question only in a rather general way (cf. 5:16, 18, 22f.). The following verses seem to hold a more specific answer.⁶³

Verse 26. This and the following verses serve as a kind of application to the situation in Galatia of what Paul means when he says: "Let us walk by the Spirit." I take this entire sub-section (5:26-6:10) as having numerous direct references to specific and actual circumstances in Galatia. Both Schlier and Lietzmann have linked 5:15 with this and the succeeding verses.⁶⁴ These verses seem to explain in a more direct and explicit way what was meant and implied by "biting," "devouring," and "consuming".

The "καυδοῖς" immediately calls to mind Paul's well-known discussions of "boasting". This, of course, is also the point of

the indicative and imperative come together again. "Law" of course carries with it the implication of the imperative, while "Christ" for Paul implies (only?) the indicative--as can be seen from the preceding verse. The nature of the Pauline imperative is discussed below, n. 63.

⁶³The indicative has been stated (v. 24) and the programmatic linking of indicative and imperative has been set forth (v. 25). Now we see the imperative in a most concrete and specifically directed form. (It ought to be noted that, not only is there a parallelism between 5:13-16, esp. v. 15, and 5:26ff, but there has been no explicit imperative in vv. 17-24). Here follows, however, a series of imperatives which continues right through to the end of the section (6:10). This seems to be the prevailing characteristic of this sub-section, although there are, of course, other elements present, too. However, even those are related to the imperatival thrust.

⁶⁴Cf. above, pp. 219-220.

6:3-4.⁶⁵ The two participial phrases which conclude 5:26 are apparently intended to be elaborations upon what is meant by "κενόδοξοι".⁶⁶ Presumably the mentioning of "provoking" and "envying" is said in reference to a situation which Paul knows to be existing or fears will soon come into being.⁶⁷

Verse 6:1. That this verse is a pivotal one in the entire section (5:13-6:10) should be readily apparent. That it is also linked very closely to 5:25 should also be clear. The central focus of attention in this section has been "spirit". In v. 25 we saw the fact of life by the Spirit (indicative) and the injunction to conduct appropriate to that (imperative). Here we have the same. However, here we also see a new dimension. Here we can see that there were some who were considered to be "πνευματικοί". It seems apparent that this was a self designation of a group within the congregation. Paul does not dispute that designation.⁶⁸ That in

⁶⁵The inflated opinion of oneself which Paul uncovers there also seems to be related to the keeping or fulfilling of "the Law of Christ" coming as it does so closely joined to 6:2, linked also by the connective "καὶ". This would be consistent with what we can see of the basis for Paul's rejection of the Law: it leads to "boasting" and self-assertion before God (and presumably man also), to the inflation of one's opinion of himself (cf. Bultmann, Theology, I, 242-243). Cf. also 6:13-14. It seems to be clear from this that "boasting" before God is closely akin to dissensions among men.

⁶⁶Cf. Schlier, op.cit., ad loc.

⁶⁷Cf. the "φθόνοι" in 5:21. Cf. also above, pp. 105-106 where Georgi's argument is given that in these verses it can be seen very clearly that these opponents have a "private religiosity."

⁶⁸To describe this verse as sarcastic seems to be questionable.

itself is interesting. But what is of greatest interest is the way in which Paul understands how the "spiritual man" is to manifest his spirituality. It is precisely the "spiritualizers" who are to be leaders in the congregation. Presumably their preeminence was recognized or assumed within the congregation. Paul does not dispute it. Rather, he challenges them to a greater role of leadership, which in reality is actually a new understanding of what it means to be "πνευματικός". That is to say, it is apparent that Paul is actually applying a corrective to the self-understanding of the "πνευματικοί", and presumably also to their role in the community. This becomes apparent when this verse is read in its context.

The fore-going verse has just warned about some who apparently were (in danger of) harboring inflated opinions of themselves. This verse makes it clear that those who were in danger of becoming "κενόδοξοι" were apparently none other than the "πνευματικοί". In other words, 5:26 applies the negative, the warning, while 6:1 supplies the positive, the directive (while at the same time adding another warning in part "c") to the "πνευματικοί".

What must further be noticed is that Paul does not set off one group against another. If the "πνευματικοί" had been designating others as "fleshly", or for that matter in any other way, Paul does not pick up that designation. He obviously avoids it. Rather, the falling of a brother into a "trespass" becomes a challenge to the "spiritualizer" to become "meek".⁶⁹ The objective, of course, was

⁶⁹There is a parallel to this at Qumran, 1 QS v, 24-25. How-

to "restore" him. But equally as important to Paul was the role and the attitude of the "πνευματικοί". Paul does not designate the weaker brother as "fleshly". Indeed, he applies a warning to the "spiritualizers" that they "look at themselves." They were themselves in danger! They were in a position which was equally as precarious as that of the weaker brothers. The "πνευματικοί" were themselves in danger of falling, of being "tempted." This is an obvious and forceful application of the "eschatological reservation". Rather than designate the weaker brothers as "fleshly", Paul is actually suggesting that the spiritualizers are in danger of falling back into "σάρξ". And if the understanding of "σάρξ" as it is used in this context is correct,⁷⁰ this supposition finds additional support. Those who were keeping or wanting to keep the Law, and that is the "πνευματικοί", were in danger of falling victim to the "flesh".

Thus, when Paul picks up and uses the designation of his opponents we can see the manner in which he does this. By using the line of reasoning of his opponents Paul very tactfully and skillfully undermines their position and interjects his own understanding. His objective in all of this is to answer, to correct, to redefine the terms and concepts of the debate and thus to dis-

ever, the differences are also note-worthy!

The "meekness" to be displayed by the "spiritualizers" is, of course, a recollection of the "meekness" included in the catalog of virtues, 5:23.

⁷⁰Cf. above, pp. 214-218.

credit or to undermine the position of his opponents.

Verse 6:2, "the Law of Christ."

This verse is comprised of one sentence. The entire sentence must be read as a unity. Furthermore, it must be read as part of the larger context, the section 5:13-6:10, and the context of the entire epistle. In the context of the entire epistle this verse is very remarkable. This will be discussed later. What does Paul mean when he says: "Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε"? Schlier and Burton argue that this, especially the term "βάρος", refers to the preceding verse.⁷¹ The progress and consistency of Paul's presentation seems to require this interpretation. 5:26 (and before that 5:15) has stated the negative, the problems within the congregation--provoking and envying of one another.⁷² The following verse, 6:1, has challenged especially the leadership of the congregation to eradicate those problems. This was a positive exhortation to (one group within) the congregation. This verse, 6:2, seems to be addressed to the entire congregation, especially, of course, to its leadership. It

⁷¹Schlier, op.cit., ad loc.; Burton, op.cit., ad loc. It should also be noted that the term "βάρος" has a broad range of meaning. Cf. G. Schrenk, "Βάρος" in G. Kittel, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), I, 553-561; Bauer, op.cit., s.v.; H. D. Betz, "Schöpfung und Erlösung im hermetischen Fragment 'Kore Kósmou'," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, LXIII (1966), 177 and n. 117.

⁷²The role played by the reciprocal pronoun in this section should not be overlooked. Here the "ἀλλήλων" is in the position of emphasis.

is essentially the same thrust which is repeated again in the verses which follow this one. The statement made here is in the form of an exhortation but seems to contain the criticism reflected in 5:26 (explicitly) and 6:1 (more subtly). Indeed, this verse seems to refer back to the preceding one not only in content but also in form and in the method of argumentation adopted by Paul.

The connection between the first and second halves of this verse is supplied primarily by the "οὕτως". The verb "ἀναπληρώω" presents a problem. The textual evidence is mixed between the aorist imperative form: ἀναπληρώσατε and the future indicative: ἀναπληρώσετε. The latter is probably to be explained as an especially strong imperative. The former is the more probable reading.

The expression "τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ" is a most remarkable one in the context of this epistle. Not only is Paul here conceding positive value to the "νόμος",⁷³ and not only is he speaking of Christian people fulfilling it, but he goes so far as to link "νόμος" with "Χριστός".⁷⁴ In the light of what he has already said to the Galatians in the epistle this seems almost contradictory.

⁷³It seems mandatory to understand the term "νόμος" as meaning approximately what the English word "Law" means. It does not seem to be satisfactory to interpret this word in this context as "norm" or "principle". This is the interpretation of Bultmann, *Theology*, I, 259. Throughout the entire epistle this term has meant "Law". Why should it mean something else in this verse? However, Bultmann has obviously recognized the problematic of this expression and implicitly argues, of course, that Paul is not here advocating a (new) Torah!

⁷⁴For a very incisive discussion of this, cf. E. Bammel, "Νόμος Χριστοῦ," in *Studia Evangelica* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964), III, 123-124.

Paul had gone to great lengths in 2:15-21 to show that Law and Christ could not be combined, that for the Christian it is either Christ or the Law. On top of that we find this statement in the context of the epistle which seems to be most negative in evaluating the Law.⁷⁵ For this and other reasons it becomes necessary to look again and to look closely at the context in which the expression "the Law of Christ" is to be found.⁷⁶

What, then, does the expression "the Law of Christ" mean? What is its origin? Why is it used here? It is here held that the expression "the Law of Christ" was not coined by Paul himself, nor did he appropriate it from some general source or from Judaism--neither from Rabbinic nor Hellenistic/syncretistic--generally or even from his own Pharisaic background. It might well be argued that he would have been familiar with such a concept and therefore it would have been available to him. That is not the question. Rather, the question is, would it have been likely that on his own, for purely "general" reasons, Paul would have made use of this expression, simply because it was "available" to him? On the contrary, it is here held that this expression, its origin into this debate and its use in this epistle and its precise meaning here, must be interpreted within the context of this epistle and the debate which is taking place here. Only after that has been done is it

⁷⁵As argued above, pp. 125-132. This fact and its possible significance is also recognized by Bammel, op.cit., p. 127.

⁷⁶The failure to do this seems to be the single greatest deficit in most of the myriad of studies devoted to the solution of this problem.

legitimate to move into the more general questions.

In the light of that it is here also held that Paul has seized this term from the preaching of his opponents.⁷⁷ They are the ones who have introduced this expression into this debate and so one must look to what they must have meant by it when they used it before claiming to have understood and explained it. There are several factors which tend to support this hypothesis as it is here being advocated.

First of all, as has just been shown, this concept is an anomaly within this epistle. There is no explanation as to why Paul himself would coin or appropriate in a general way such an expression as this and use it as it is here in this debate, even though it might have been available to him from his own past or from the Judaism of his time. The only explanation for the appearance of this expression in this epistle is that it was part of the debate, that Paul--with polemical motivation--has seized it from the vocabulary of his opponents. Secondly, and related to the first, the way in which Paul uses the expression here is illuminating and supports this hypothesis very well. In a very real sense he seems to be "explaining" or reinterpreting it, and that precisely within the context of a series of very pointed and polemical statements (5:26-6:10).⁷⁸ Thirdly, the theology, preaching and self-understanding

⁷⁷S. D. Georgi, "Einwände und Exegetische Anmerkungen," in Christusbekenntnis im Atomzeitalter? (München: Kaiser, 1959), p. 111 (cf. above, pp. 97-98.)

⁷⁸As it is used here the "bearing of each other's burdens" is the fulfilling of the Law of Christ (Bammel, op.cit., p. 126,

of Paul's opponents here was such that it seems very likely that an expression such as this would have been found within it. Indeed, their combining of "Law" and "Christ", as we can clearly see it through the thrust of Paul's counter arguments (e.g. 2:15-21), is precisely what we find tersely summarized in this expression.⁷⁹

A number of scholars have proposed solutions to the question posed by the appearance of this expression. The most important of

argues that because Paul here uses this concrete expression, "bear one another's burdens" "shows that Paul did not wish to understand the term νόμος Χριστοῦ as an explanation of the commandment of love of Deuteronomy. . . . so in 6:2 νόμος is used only with regard to the legalism of the Galatians."). That the sharing of burdens was not happening in Galatia can be seen from the surrounding context and is the point here. It is the reason for the imperative mood of the verb. Interpersonal relations have been in the fore-front of Paul's presentation throughout the epistle and most especially in this section, 5:13-6:10. It breaks through to such an extent that Paul even uses and modifies traditional forms (e.g. the catalog) to bring it in. The fact that there is much lacking in this area is obviously of deep concern to Paul. And this concern on the part of Paul is coupled with his concern over the growing tendency of the Galatians to become dependent upon the Law--as understood there. In other words, Paul's exhortation here is aimed at the specific situation. 6:2a is very pointed--and aimed at the problem of interpersonal relations. 6:2b is aimed at the dependence upon Law among the Galatians. As has been argued above, the opponents's concept of Law and their observance of it was carrying them into personal conflict and dissension (cf. pp. 213-236). It seems to be precisely the Law observance, with all that is here related to it, which is carrying these people into frictions and dissension.

Furthermore, not only is the preceding context pointed and polemical, but the verses which follow are perhaps as much so, beginning with 6:3 and the statement: "εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μηδὲν ὄν, φρεναπατᾷ ἑαυτόν." In addition, the frequent reappearance of the judgment motif in this immediate context seems to give further indication of the polemical tenor of this entire section.

⁷⁹Cf. above, pp. 113-114 where the theology and preaching of these opponents is briefly summarized. There the linking of Law, christology and spirit-possession is pointed out.

these scholars are Hans Joachim Schoeps, W.D. Davies, and C.H. Dodd. The first two scholars have based their solutions upon background material from Judaism, especially from Rabbinic sources.⁸⁰ In contrast to them, Dodd devotes special attention to the developing

⁸⁰H. J. Schoeps, Paul (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 168-218 and passim. It is Schoeps' opinion that "a specially widespread opinion in rabbinic literature is that in the Messianic era the old Torah will cease together with the evil impulse, but that God will give a new Torah through the Messiah" (p.172). He sees this new law playing a role not only in Matthew (5:17-20) but also in Paul (Gal. 6:2, Rom. 3:27-- "the law of faith"). In Schoeps' view, Paul understands Jesus as the Messiah. Thus the Messianic age has come and the old Torah comes to an end. Thus he interprets Rom. 10:4; "My judgment is that Rom. 10:4 is an absolutely exact inference from the standpoint of Jewish theological thought; but the rabbis did not share Paul's premiss (sic) that the Messianic age had begun with the death and resurrection of Jesus" (p. 173).

W. D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come. (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952). Here Davies candidly concedes that "the evidence that we have been able to adduce in favour of a new Messianic Torah cannot be regarded as very impressive" (p. 90). However, Davies is undaunted and continues his argument that "at this point we must insist that the New Testament must be allowed to illumine the Messianic hope of Judaism" (pp. 90-91). The support Davies claims is, on the one hand, the rejection of the old Torah and, on the other hand, the introduction of a New Torah (p. 9.). Instances of the latter are to be found in Matthew, Paul (Gal. 6:2), and John.

To all of this, cf. Bammel, op.cit., pp. 122-123, who argues that the evidence from Rabbinic sources is not sufficient to support the thesis of Schoeps. Bammel answers the proposal of Schoeps in the light of Galatians itself: "Attempts have often been made to understand Pauline theology as a projection of this thesis. But it is certainly not true of the Paul, who is the author of the Epistle to the Galatians. He neither makes Abraham an authority for the older, better law nor does he turn the νόμος into a forerunner of the Messianic age" (p. 123). By this argument Bammel also shows up the weakness of the circular reasoning of Davies. (For additional and more detailed, but essentially similar, statements by W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 69-74, 147-176.) Bammel also points out that even in apocalyptic texts, with its contrast between the two aeons which might cause us to suspect that they would have room for a New Law, "all sources to support this are missing. . . ." (p. 122).

tradition of the sayings of Jesus and thus to (possible) parallels throughout the New Testament which might cast light on the "Law of Christ." Parallel statements and sometimes even mere verbal allusions are adduced as evidence for the existence of a "Law of Christ".⁸¹ By this he means that ". . . a man may be free from Torah and yet be loyal to the law of God, as it is represented or expressed in the law of Christ."⁸² "The Law of Christ is such that it can be stated in the form of a code of precepts to which a Christian man is obliged to conform."⁸³ It is the search for this "code of precepts" which occupies Dodd throughout this study. He looks primarily

⁸¹C.H. Dodd, "ENNOMOS ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ" in *Studia Paulina* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1953), pp. 96-110. The question of the "words of Jesus" and their role in a "new Law" in early Christianity will be discussed below, pp. 243-244. As the title of this essay indicates, it is devoted primarily to 1 Corinthians. However, he does focus some attention on Galatians. He argues that the phrase ("the Law of Christ") is embedded in a series of moral injunctions--or, less probably, in obeying the one which immediately precedes ("Bear one another's burdens")--a man will be fulfilling the Law of Christ; or in other words, in acknowledging himself bound by such injunctions he is ἐν νόμῳ Χριστοῦ. Looking for the "code of precepts" which Dodd claims goes to make up this Law of Christ, he turns first to the immediate context in Galatians. But there he admits that in 5:22-23 "the virtues of Christian living are described as 'fruit of the Spirit' rather than as obedience to precepts." He further concedes that in the same context Paul says that the man who is "led by the Spirit" is not "ὑπὸ νόμου" (5:18). But when in almost the same breath Paul enjoins the Galatians to "fulfill the Law of Christ", Dodd sees this as being "the same subtle distinction" as is found in 1 Cor. 9:20." In sum, Dodd finds in Galatians only the command to love the neighbor (5:14) as a concrete statement which might give substance to his argument that the "Law of Christ" consisted of a "code of precepts to which a Christian man was obliged to conform." Beyond this Dodd is forced to turn to other epistles for evidence. Dodd's discussion of Galatians is found *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 100.

to the traditions of the sayings of Jesus for the content to that code.⁸⁴

All of these solutions to the problem raised by the appearance of the expression "the Law of Christ" in the Epistle to the Galatians seem to be found wanting when specific reference is made to the text of Galatians. As has been shown, Dodd finds almost nothing in Galatians itself to support his thesis. However, the work of these scholars poses a series of questions, consideration of which might serve to summarize the issues involved in consideration of the expression "the Law of Christ".

1) Was Paul aware of and making use of the developing tradition of the sayings of Jesus--which presumably would have been understood as a "Law of Christ"? Dieter Georgi has made the plausible suggestion that the Galatians opponents of Paul had some dependence on Jesus.⁸⁵ He has also argued (implausibly) that Paul rejected (all!) tradition--both Jewish and Christian. In view of the fact that most probably Paul did not reject all tradition, but opposes his opponents' view and use of it with one of his own, might he not have been depending upon "sayings of Jesus"?

Recognizing that these questions might be answered differently when considering evidence from the different epistles, discussion here will be confined to Galatians. There is no evidence in Galatians--

⁸⁴Cf. Bammel, op.cit., p. 125.

⁸⁵Cf. above, pp. 94-5, esp. n. 88.

not even Dodd was able to find any!--to indicate that for Paul "the Law of Christ" consisted of sayings of Jesus. The summary of the Law which Paul includes in 5:14 ("Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself") is found both in Deuteronomy and also in the nascent Christian tradition. And yet an identification of that summary statement with "the Law of Christ" is questionable. First of all, as Bammel has pointed out, that is not what Paul says in 6:2. If that summary were for Paul the "Law of Christ" why did he not say so and put it into the immediate context. Secondly, it seems that Paul is referring to the Torah in 5:14 when he says: ὁ πᾶς νόμος. Is Paul at that point picking up this statement in the way in which it was meant in some quarters of the early church, namely, as a "radicalizing" of the Law?⁸⁶

2) Does Paul conceive of his "commands" (in Galatians he does not speak of his imperatives in this way, although this does not automatically preclude his having thought of them as such) as in any sense a "law"? If he does not have any use at all for a law, why does he command to love (5:14) or "to bear one another's burdens" (6:2)? Paul obviously views his own imperatives as binding. And yet in the very context where he lines up one imperative after the other he has two of the more direct statements against the Law in the life of the Christian (5:18, 23). In the first he states that the Christian man is not "ὐπὸ νόμου" while in the second he sarcasti-

⁸⁶Cf. Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in his New Testament Questions. p. 118.

cally and polemically rejects the role of the law in the prompting of virtues. In view of the fact that Paul sees the Christian man as not being "under law", how could he consider even his own moral imperatives as "νόμος"? More likely there is a middle ground where the apostle (or the early Christian prophet) leads, directs, controls or guides the life and conduct of the congregation by means of imperatives but where these are not (yet) considered "law" in the sense of a "new Law of Jesus Christ" such as is found in Barn. 2:6 (and elsewhere in the fathers). There presumably was a time, apparently represented by Paul himself among others, when the Jesus tradition, sayings of the earthly Jesus or of the resurrected Lord, was considered normative but not yet "law" in the sense of "Torah", in the sense described by Dodd: "a code of precepts. . . ." A question related to this (although the answer is beyond the scope of this study) is: how early did the "sayings of Jesus" tradition become congealed into a "code" and become normative in the sense of "law"? Käsemann has argued for the significance of the Gospel of Mark and the pre-pauline hymns in this regard: precisely those two early segments of the tradition (among others; was "Q" older than Mark?) make little or no use of the "sayings" tradition of Jesus.⁸⁷ What is the comparative level of "development" of the Epistle to the Galatians and of Mark? Does Galatians represent in the "epistle tradition" something approximately analogous to Mark in the "gospel tradition"?

⁸⁷Käsemann, Jesus Means Freedom, chapter 2.

3) Did the Galatian opponents of Paul perhaps depend upon and utilize the Jesus tradition--including, perhaps, sayings--which was being understood by them as a "νόμος"? Was this what they might have meant by "the Law of Christ"? Is there perhaps some connection between them and the (later) Antioch tradition (if that is really the origin of Matthew or at least of the tradition in the first Gospel which is peculiar to it)?⁸⁸

One could go into such questions as: does 1 Corinthians (or Romans) indicate that Paul knew and used sayings of Jesus tradition? Do those epistles show, as perhaps Galatians does not, that these sayings of Jesus were for Paul a "νόμος"? Was this what he meant when he spoke of "the Law of Christ"? Does 1 Cor. 9 concede that at certain times and places Paul makes use of a "Law of Christ"?

It is indeed interesting that in Galatians, where Paul says so many very negative things about the Law--with virtually nothing on the positive side--precisely there we find the expression "the Law of Christ". On the other hand, Romans, which has a number of statements which are certainly positive about the Law, does not make any mention (explicitly--and that is what counts!) of the "Law of Christ". Only Bammel of all those who have set out to examine "the Law of Christ" has even recognized this.⁸⁹ However, his very

⁸⁸ Did the Galatian opponents perhaps say that Christ came "not to destroy the law, but to fulfill the law" (Mt. 5:17f.), that is, that he might "fulfill all righteousness" (Mt. 3:15, Ign. Smyr. 1:1)? Was this akin to what they meant that Jesus was "born under the Law" (Gal. 4:4)--a statement which goes back to them--?

⁸⁹ Bammel, op.cit., pp. 127-128.

incisive discussion of this and other aspects of the problem stops short of a fully historical interpretation. He says:

Now it is significant that the Christian use of νόμος occurs only in Gal. 6:2 and 1 Cor. 9:20--that is in epistles which are not as yet dealing favorably with the Jewish Law. In the Epistle to the Romans in contrast, where the Mosaic Law is celebrated, occurs the precise expression of 13:9, in which ὁ νόμος is designed to qualify the quintessence of the Old Testament Law. Here we have continuity! This will have to be recognized not as an accidental but as a compelling transposition. If the whole of the Jewish Law is seen in a negative light the term νόμος becomes so to speak free and can be usurped--as in Galatians. Where this is no longer the case, and where the congregation is yet to be free from the Law, the term may not be used in a truly Christian vocabulary--as in Romans. The formula ὁ νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ shows itself thereby as a phrase which was only possible in one particular phase of Pauline theology when it was coined in an almost playful manner.

The discussion of Bammel, perceptive and penetrating as it is in many ways, falls short on this count. Precisely in Galatia these people were not free of the Law (whether this was true of the congregation in Rome will not be discussed here), and thus precisely there Paul could not "coin it in an almost playful manner." Indeed, it is this very fact which gets back to the thesis of this study. Precisely in Galatia Paul was not "free" to "coin" this expression and surely not to use it "in an almost playful manner." For just this reason we are led to the conclusion that this expression has been introduced into the discussion in Galatia not by Paul but by his opponents. Paul has apparently picked it up from there. Paul was not "free" to coin this expression here for any reason, playful or otherwise. Indeed, he probably felt compelled to use it here simply in order to explain it, to reinterpret it, to correct the abuses of the Christian life which were being perpetrated

by those who were apparently using this expression, perhaps even using it as one of their "slogans."

The appearance of the expression "the Law of Christ" in the vocabulary of Paul's Galatian opponents would seem to be not only not surprising but quite natural and consistent with what we can understand about them from information found in various quarters of this Epistle. They obviously were advocating dependence upon the Law, at least as they understood it, i.e. among other things, within a Christian context. They apparently understood that there was a positive relationship between Christ and the Law (2:15-21), which in turn brought them into possession of the Spirit (3:1-5) and into freedom from or domination over both the cosmic forces of the universe (standing behind the Law) (4:3-9, much as in Colossians) as well as apparently those who were still subservient to those forces. They seem to have understood the "νόμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ" as being in a real sense a "Law". This can be seen from what Paul says about it here: οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This was possibly even their phrase which Paul quotes here directly. At any rate, it seems apparent from the presence of the verb "ἀναπληρώω" that this "νόμος" is understood, not as a "principle" or "norm" but as a "Law".

What does Paul understand by this expression? Why does he use it here? The answer to these and similar questions must be formulated within the context of the entire epistle. Paul has already explicitly rejected any association between Christ and the "νόμος" (2:15-21). Indeed, the Law does not have any positive value

as it is described in this epistle. These basic and overriding facts must serve as the basis for answering not only where this expression comes from but also how Paul understands it and why he uses it here. Not only has Paul picked it up from his opponents, who have brought it into the discussion here, but he does so apparently for polemical reasons. The "οὕτως" here seems to show the direction in which he is pushing for meaning--directly in the face of his opponents' life style, self-understanding and theology: not by vaunting it over another, less spiritually endowed (context, 5:13-26), but by "bearing the burdens of others" (in the context of 6:1 who can these "others" be but those less endowed spiritually?!) does one fulfil the "Law of Christ." This seems to be an emphatically and strategically placed "thus." And this seems to be the meaning and the context of the expression "the Law of Christ."

Thus it is here being argued from beginning to end that the expression "the Law of Christ" must be understood--indeed, can adequately be understood only--within the context of the entire epistle,⁹⁰ that is, within the context of its historical background. The weight of the evidence seems to suggest that Paul not only is not formulating or holding out for a (re)introduction of (a new) law for

⁹⁰That the unity of the Epistle to the Galatians has not always been clearly seen has been pointed out above (cf. pp. 67, 80 and n. 42). Lütgert and others have argued very energetically for that unity. Not only is that position of Lütgert accepted here, but also the most important implication of it here becomes more or less the thesis on which the arguments of this study stand or fall, namely, that the polemics of the epistle are not confined to chapters 1 and 2, but are to be found throughout the epistle at various points.

the Christian church, but that he has only picked up this expression from the debate taking place between himself and his opponents and is attempting to cast it in a light that significantly dilutes any legalistic implications which might be inherent within the term "νόμος".

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